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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

"Without love, no happiness": Happiness as Reading and Relating in Paradise Lost

BY

© Edith Snook

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1994

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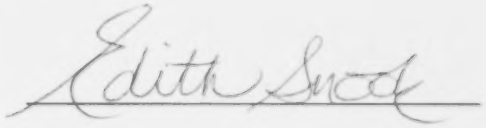

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September 14, 1994

1
Keep bees and
grow asparagus,
watch the tides
and listen to the
wind instead of
the politicians
make up your own
stories and believe
them if you want to
live the good life.

2
All rituals
are instincts
never fully
trust them but
study to im-
prove biology
with reason.

3
Digging trenches
for asparagus
is good for the
muscles and
waiting for the
plants to settle
teaches patience
to those who are
usually in too
much of a hurry.

4
There is morality
in bee-keeping
it teaches how
not to be afraid
of the bee swarm
it teaches how
not to be afraid of
finding new places
and building in them
all over again.

Miriam Waddington

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Without love, no happiness": Happiness as Reading and Relating in Paradise Lost" here submitted by Edith Snook in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English.

David Gay

John Orrell

Catherine Wilson

September 9, 1994

Abstract

This thesis is a study of happiness in Paradise Lost. In Milton's time and before, happiness was an important idea. Aristotle made happiness the cornerstone of his moral philosophy and it was also important for others thinkers such as Boethius, Augustine, and Aquinas and many of the poets and preachers who were Milton's contemporaries. Milton uses the words "happy" and "happiness" in Paradise Lost a great number of times and these occasions show the influence of this tradition of thinking about happiness. The first chapter examines happiness in the context of Milton's prelapsarian garden. In the Eden, happiness is both artful and natural, but most of all the result of divine goodness. For the happy Adam and Eve who live there, the garden is also a book by which they learn of God. Prelapsarian human happiness, the focus of the second chapter, is both divinely infused and an act of choice; happiness is a balance of the two. It is the result of marriage, wisdom, and obedience, but ultimately of self-knowledge. With the fall, happiness is lost with Paradise. But through Michael's narrative, Milton restores Adam to a "paradise within" that is "happier far." This is the crux of the poem and the material for the third chapter and should not be explained with any resort to the felix culpa or stoic acceptance. Rather, happiness in Milton's fallen world is a restoration of the balance of relationships of the unfallen world with an added emphasis on the importance of reading. To be able to read the world, but most of all the Bible, with a regenerate spirit is to be restored to the happiness of the unfallen world. Happiness in Paradise Lost is perfect and in progress, a quality of the present as much as an expectation for the future.

With special thanks to the following people
to whom I owe that
"debt immense of endless gratitude":

To Janet and Scott I am grateful for the excellent food and coffee, futon and computer with which they so hospitably eased the pain of the final panic of finishing this thesis and moving out of my apartment. And also from Janet, my fellow "inebriate of air," I must acknowledge other gifts. For the Humanities lawn in Autumn and Emily. For discovering with me the pleasures of reading Wallace Stevens upside down, head on the floor and legs on the wall. For teaching me how happy it makes me to read and write and talk with good friends.

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Introduction

Accustomed as we are to the popular image of the grim-faced Milton bent over his books by candlelight, or that of the blind and bitter old misogynist who forced his daughters to read to him in languages they could not understand, a study that proposes to examine Milton and the idea of happiness may seem like an aberration. But, as Christopher Hill demonstrates, such a stereotype is ill-considered in both its understanding of Puritanism and Milton's view of women. Hill writes of the former: "there was nothing abnormal in a seventeenth-century Puritan loving music, song, wine and plays, or defending, as Milton did, elegance, fine clothes, dancing, theatres, bagpipes and fiddles, alehouses" (4). As for the latter, Hill finds the current condemnation of Milton for his gender politics to be ironic, since Milton's own contemporaries denounced him as a libertine who encouraged the insubordination of women (2,4). This thesis, however, has very little to do with biography. Rather, it is a study of Milton and his use of the words "happy" and "happiness" in Paradise Lost. I will argue that there is a pattern of thinking about happiness which needs to be considered. Because meaning is created by historical context and by the context in the work, it should be recognized that in Milton's time and in his poem happiness was both more valued and more narrowly defined than it is now. For Milton, I will argue, happiness meant one thing only: the subjective state of enjoyment of relationship with the Divine, or the experience of being "blessed."

In the seventeenth century and before, happiness was an idea to which serious thought was given, due at least in part to the influence of Plato and Aristotle on intellectual history. V.J. McGill, in his book The Idea of Happiness, calls Aristotle "the chief protagonist in all major issues concerning happiness," and adds: "his eudaemonism makes happiness the pivotal term in moral philosophy" (xi). For Aristotle, happiness is the "activity of the soul in conformity with virtue" (1.9). Since it is impossible to perform noble deeds if one lacks the wherewithal, happiness also requires external goods, the absence of which may spoil happiness. Though Plato does not make happiness the cornerstone of his ethical theories, he does, according to McGill, agree with Aristotle on a great many points. They agree that all men desire happiness, that happiness is a life

of virtue, and that the highest happiness results from the exercise of the highest part of the soul. Both Plato and Aristotle reject bodily pleasures and external goods as a significant means to happiness, and choose rational pleasures instead (37-40). The significant difference between them is that Plato asserts that the highest pleasure is in the vision of the form of the good, a form which Aristotle would dispute, insisting as he does on starting from what we know (Ethics 1.4).

Augustine continues in the neo-Platonic tradition. He began to explore his ideas about happiness in an early work called The Happy Life, written shortly before his conversion, but The City of God develops his ideas most fully. In brief, it can be said that adhering to God in a beatific vision is the essence of happiness and secondly, that the only truly happy life is that which is eternal. Because the earthly vision of God is always changing, happiness can only be a state of the after-life (14.25). If we turn to Thomas Aquinas we find that he, like Aristotle, makes happiness an activity in accordance with virtue, but like Augustine, he concludes that perfect happiness is unattainable in this life. However, he does allow a secondary state of earthly happiness that, while imperfect, is nevertheless happy. The ideas of all of these men, along with other church fathers like St. Jerome and Chrysostome, found their way in various forms into the thinking of seventeenth century writers on happiness.

The book of Ecclesiastes is also worthy of particular note. It was interpreted virtually unanimously by Renaissance commentators as a work of moral philosophy that showed the true happiness or highest good of man (Lewalski 57). There were also a number of sermons and books on happiness. Richard Barckley's The Felicitie of Man, or His Summum Bonum is the earliest that I will mention, first printed in 1598, but reprinted in 1631. From there, we also see sermons and books by Joseph Hall, Richard Holsword, Richard Sibbes, Edward Willan, Francis Howgill, Thomas Brooks, Samuel Crook, Robert Crofts, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Joseph Glanvill. "The Way to True Happiness" was the title of three published sermons--one by James Young in the 1640's, one by Robert Harris in 1653 and one by Joseph Alleine in 1678. Richard Baxter's well-known The Saint's Everlasting Rest is in many ways a discussion of happiness in the after-life. And on a more earthly-minded note, there is Thomas Traherne's Centuries

of Meditations, not discovered until 1908 and left untitled by its author, which is permeated more than any other work with a vision of the happy life. What all of these writings have in common is an unrelenting insistence that happiness is only to be found with God. There are also traces of political interaction to be found in these sermons. Richard Holsword's sermon, first printed in 1642 and reprinted in 1661, must have an overt political purpose in recommending the social happiness that is to be found in obedience to the king. His directness is the exception, however. That so many others made happiness a completely individual idea could also be viewed as a political comment on non-conformity. In my view, however, there is not a thesis worth of worries in approaching happiness ideologically, since ultimately they all concluded on the same religious premise whatever their politics.

Maren-Sofie Røstvig's The Happy Man: Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Idea approaches happiness from a slightly different direction. He describes a *beatus ille* movement in the poetry of seventeenth century England, influenced by Horace and Virgil in their praise of country life. In The Happy Man, we find mention of essays by Abraham Cowley, and poems by William Drummond of Hawthornden, Ben Jonson, Robert Herrick, John Denham, Henry Vaughan, Andrew Marvell, William Habington and John Milton, to mention a few names among the many. He suggests that the Puritan concept of the happy life--that of the good pilgrim battling Satan--would place Puritans outside of the *beatus ille* idea of the happy man as passed on by Virgil. Røstvig also argues that the affirmation of rural retirement was tantamount to confession of loyalty to the crown (48). But James Forrest finds this Horatian theme of *beatus ille* in Puritan literature as well: "Cognate, then, to the metaphor of the garden, and investing it with further significance, is the image of rural solitude as a figure of seventeenth-century happiness" (190). To the poets of happiness already mention we should add Thomas Traherne and his Poems of Felicity. Henry Wotton, Thomas Overbury, Francis Quarles and Joseph Hall wrote character sketches of happy people, and Henry Peacham has an emblem entitled "Foelicitas publica." Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia also wrote a poem which engages in the discussion (40,41), and letters to her from Rene Descartes reveal an interesting discussion of the topic (Mackenzie 91). In a more

practical way, garden manuals also relate gardening or husbandry and happiness. From all this, I think we can conclude that happiness--the finding of it, the experiencing of it, and the writing of it--is a common topic in Milton's time.

I offer this not because this is the epic thesis on seventeenth century thinking about happiness, but because I wish to destabilize expectations that happiness is a simple concept universally known. Happiness is now, as then, a word that finds its meaning in a subjective experience, but in the seventeenth century that experience was most often described in the language of religion. We should not assume that what we experience and then name as happy is analogous to that which they called happy. Though I can only approach seventeenth century happiness by way of the act of interpretation of words and not the "actual" experience, I think that it is a mistake to pass over unexamined the word "happy" in Milton's work. That is to be naive about happiness.

The first chapter of this thesis focuses on Milton's "happy garden," the natural world which he depicts as "infus'd" with divine virtue. As Adam and Eve relate themselves to this place, they also experience a happiness of the garden variety which is experiential, sensual, healthy, meditative, and eloquent. Most importantly, Milton's portrayal of the garden makes it the perfect literary device for presenting the relationship to the divine presence as the essence of happiness. For the second chapter, I will take on a more metaphysical turn of mind to suggest that Milton generates an overtly theological happiness for his prelapsarian humans. Happiness is found within a relational model of identity and difference that is controlled by the discriminating human mind engaged in the self-reflexive activity of recognizing these conditions of relationship. In this chapter, the divine-human relationship is paramount; happiness is blessedness, but the conditions of this relationship also spread their influence over marriage and the relationship with nature. I will argue that the responsibility for happiness rests on the self-aware and discriminating mind. Even in the innocence of the unfallen world, Milton makes understanding, or the life of the intellect, key to happiness.

Finally, the third chapter will focus on Milton and the idea of happiness in the fallen world, and especially on the narrative of Michael in Books 11 and 12. Regeneration to happiness occurs through the act of reading as Adam learns about the

critical mind endowed with grace that is engaged in interpretation of Scripture and world. Through reading the text of Scripture, God becomes present again, and thus humans are returned to happiness through the Word which is the mediator in the fallen world. Michael's words restore relationships that have been damaged by the fall. The "paradise within" in which Adam and Eve are told they can be "happier far" is not a Stoic's fortress mind. The "paradise within" is, like Milton's "happy garden," a place of activity and virtue, art and delight.

Chapter One: Of the Literal and Literary that is "In the happy garden plac't"

At the beginning of his popular gardening book The Herball or Generall History of Plants, John Gerard asks rhetorically:

> Talke of perfect happinesse or pleasure, and what place was so fit for that, as the garden place where Adam was set, to be the Herbalist? Whether did the poets hunt for their syncere delights, but into the gardens of Alcinous, or Adores [?], and the orchards of Hesperides? Where did they claime that heaven should be, but in the pleasant garden of Elysium? ("To the Reader" n.p.)

For Milton, writing fifty years after Gerard, there was still no fitter place to talk of perfect happiness than the garden. I will show first that happiness is a universal for the unfallen world. A full range of characters--God, Satan, Beelzebub, Adam, Eve, Raphael, and the narrator--attach the adjective "happy" to Heaven, the stars and the Garden of Eden. Milton, I will suggest, is describing places as happy according to an objective principle in his vision of unfallen existence; that is, places are happy when they are in communion with God. To look more directly at the garden, we also see that in Paradise Lost, Eden is a happy place where plants, animals, and humans live in fecundity, delight, and harmony. The natural world is created good by God and operates according to principles of virtue for its own benefit as much as for that of Adam and Eve. This chapter will demonstrate, secondly, the happiness that arises from the particular virtues which Milton gives to the natural world. But even in an examination of the outward happiness of Milton's Eden, the inward intrudes. And so, the third point of this chapter will be to note that the attitude of the person, devil, or angel who approaches the happy place is of great importance to Milton. The happy garden is less a metaphor for the reader to understand Adam and Eve, and more a separate entity with which Adam and Eve must have a relationship. Milton's first humans interact with the world around them as servant gardeners and artists--aiding the garden in fruitfulness and continuing the art of God by making it beautiful. As Adam and Eve learn about God from their garden, Eden becomes their metaphor for the invisible and divine. And so,

the "happy garden" is both a literal garden and a provider of literary experience, a text, for Adam and Eve.

Heaven is the first place described as a happy place. The poem opens as Satan is "Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Sky/With hideous ruin and combustion down/To bottomless perdition" (1.45-47). From Hell, Satan notes the altered appearance of his compatriot Beelzebub:

> But O how fall'n! how chang'd
> From him, who in the happy Realms of Light
> Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine
> Myriads though bright. (1.84-87)

When Beelzebub speaks, he too acknowledges a different quality to their existence. Their "glory" is "extinct," and their "happy state" is "swallow'd up in endless misery" (1.141,142). The devils gradually recognize that the happiness of Heaven has become foreign to them. Satan acknowledges this alienation when he says: "Farewell happy Fields/Where Joy for ever dwells" (1.249,250). But it is also important to note that Satan does not have an interactive relationship with his surroundings. He bids farewell to Heaven as if he had left by choice, while the divine perspective proclaims his banishment.

The wilful disconnection between the external world and the interior world of Satan's mind is a fundamental characteristic of Satan's relationship with his surroundings. He comforts himself by becoming something of a Stoic and affirming the power of his brain: "The mind is its own place, and in itself/Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n" (1.254,255). Satan is not wrong in his identification of Heaven as a "happy place"; both Adam and Raphael describe Heaven in the same way. Adam's first words to Raphael recognize that the angelic visitor has come from "the Thrones above,/Those happy places thou has deign'd a while/To want" (5.363-365). Raphael, for his part, says that the war in Heaven did disturb, though "not destroy, thir happy Native seat" (6.226). Satan's perspective on happiness is informed by alienation and loss. As he proceeds in his vow to make a heaven of hell, his words pervert the happy place into an undesirable thing. He attempts to convince the devils that he should be the one to lead them against

Heaven, while arguing that they are fortunate to be in Hell where the task of leadership is not a job to be envied. He remembers: "The happier state/In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw/Envy from each inferior" (2.24-26). All see Heaven as a happy place, but as happiness cooks in the oven of Satan's memory, it becomes a hard, black thing of power structures and envy. Satan's perspective on happiness is informed by the subjective quality of his own mind more than any inherent quality in Heaven.

The happiness of Heaven is visible to earth in the happy light of the stars. Milton's celestial simile for happy places is universalizing, joining the world below and the world above:

> Or other Worlds they seem'd, or happy Isles,
> Like those *Hesperian* Gardens fam'd of old,
> Fortunate Fields, and Groves and flow'ry Vales,
> Thrice happy Isles, but who dwelt happy there
> He stay'd not to enquire. (3.567-571)

This is, however, Satan's perspective as he flies through the cosmos bent on destruction; he does not pause to distinguish stars and gardens but aims straight for the most powerful light--the sun. To find the paradise that is "the happy seat of Man" (3.632), he needs to ask directions from Uriel. While Satan can talk about happiness in his rhetoric, he does not know where to find it. Adam also remembers the "happy Constellations" that "Shed thir selectest influence" as he leads Eve to the nuptial bower (8.512,513), and he recalls that the first thing that he beheld after his creation was the "happy Light" above him (8.285). The stars are happy and when Satan identifies happy places, he is not exactly wrong in his use of language. His delusion becomes clear for the reader, however, in his inability to distinguish between the happiness of gardens and that of stars. He cannot tell the difference because he is not experiencing happiness within himself. For him, calling a place happy is a use of language that has no experiential referent. For Adam, this is not so. He knows what it means to be in a happy place because he experiences happiness.

As the poem moves towards Eden, the devils are the first to describe it as happy for the reader. Beelzebub calls the garden "the happy seat/Of some new Race call'd *Man*" (2.347,348), and Satan concurs by calling it the "happy Isle" (2.410). From the

devils' position in Hell, happy seems to be the quality of an exclusive place. Adam and Eve, however, are included and placed by God "in the happy Garden" (3.66). Gabriel is further charged by Uriel to protect "this happy place" so that "[n]o evil thing approach or enter in" (4.562,563). The reader is given the perspective of one of the included and allowed to enter the garden[1]. The garden is, we are told by the narrator, the "happy seat of Man" (3.632) and the "happy rural seat of various view" (4.247), in which can be found "*Eden's* happy plains" (5.143). The reader is allowed the expansive perspective of the included. Within the garden, we see that Adam and Eve are in accord with the other opinions on their place. Adam's first words in the poem define his experience of the garden. God, he says, has "plac't us here/In all this happiness" (4.416,417). While Satan's inner state is incongruent to the experience of happiness in the places he encounters, Adam's inner state is in absolute accord. As John Leonard writes of the language of the garden: "For unfallen Adam and Eve, 'Eden' is synonymous with happiness" (279). Adam is *in* happiness. He knows happiness in the garden and himself in a congruence of language and experience which Satan is incapable of because he approaches happy places as the rebel who rejected the experience.

In Milton's prelapsarian cosmos, happiness is universally acknowledged to be the state of existence for places where the divine is present. Hell is never identified as happy. From this beginning, there are two further problems that arise. The first is determining the relationship between the garden and the human, emotional adjective--"happy"--by which Milton describes it. The second problem is tracing the quality of that happiness in the poem to identify the significance of the divine presence for life in the garden. This question will be answered by an examination of the particular characteristics of Eden.

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[1]Though the reader is allowed to enter, the initial approach to Eden that the poem makes is with the perspective of Satan. The question then might arise: Is the reader implicated with Satan, an "evil thing" who enters by trespassing, or like Adam who enters with divine approval? The question makes reading a moral act, but still I think, a choice. The reader need not view the garden as Satan does.

In approaching the first question, we travel by way of the tradition of literary criticism that has seen the Garden of Eden as a reflection, or an allegory, for Adam and Eve's inward state. A. Bartlett Giamatti, commenting on the criticism that has come before him, argues that it is a commonplace to say that Eden reflects the innocence and perfection of Adam and Eve. In his view, external nature provides a mirror for the harmony of human nature (299). This position is echoed by Roy Daniels who proposes that the garden's correlative in the human mind gives the external beauty and splendour of Eden its meaning (15). While Milton describes both the Garden of Eden and Adam and Eve as happy, I would like to suggest that Milton does not create a literary garden as a passive reflection of human happiness. Rather, his metaphor is a lively one where garden and human interact in a relationship of mutuality in a world where all creation is allowed to participate in the divine presence. To look at the garden only as allegory is to bind the "paradise without" to the "paradise within" with coarse jute cords when more delicate embroidery thread would be most appropriate.

In the prelapsarian world of Paradise Lost, human and natural existence are both happy, but they are also fundamentally different. Adam and Eve are the only ones in whom the "image of thir glorious Maker shone" (4.292), and they alone are endowed with reason. This difference does not provide the opportunity for oppression, but for appreciation and cooperation. The garden supplies them with pleasure, food, and an education. In turn, Adam and Eve serve rather than control their environment. They are like the garden because they, too, are happy creatures and participants in God's creation. Thus, an examination of the garden will also contribute to an understanding of their happiness, but human happiness will, for the most part, be left to the chapter which follows. Here we shall see that the characteristics which Milton gives to this happy place are much richer in their portrayal of happiness and of nature than the words "happy garden" at first suggest. This chapter will find its substance in the qualities of the happy natural world as we trace the stitches of Milton's multi-coloured threads of happiness through the tapestry of his text.

The first characteristic of the "happy garden" is the result of Milton's description of the first act of creation:

> but on the wat'ry calm
> His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
> And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth
> Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purg'd
> The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs
> Adverse to life. (7.234-239)

The primal act is a separation of the good, virtuous, and life-giving, from all that is adverse to life. Everything in the Garden of Eden is of the first sort. When God surveys all that he has made and declares it to be good (7.337), good signifies more than nice, or beautiful; there is a moral goodness in nature that is given by the God who created the physical world out of himself.

This moral goodness does not lie dormant. The virtue of creation is made explicit and active by Milton's description of the natural inhabitants of the cosmos. The sun has an "attractive virtue" by which he can hold the dance of other stars around him (8.124). When Adam teaches Eve about the stars, he tells her that they foment, warm, temper and nourish, "or in part shed down/Thir stellar virtue on all kinds that grow/On Earth, made hereby apter to receive/ Perfection from the Sun's more potent Ray" (4.670-673). The plants participate in divine goodness because they are matter created out of God, but they also have virtues individual to their natures which should be appreciated by those who encounter them. The trees, for example, demonstrate nobility. We are told that God caused to grow "Trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste" (4.217). When Raphael describes their creation he says: "last/Rose as in Dance the stately Trees, and spread/Thir branches hung with copious Fruit" (7.323-325). There are also "Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gums and Balm,/Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rind/Hung amiable" (4.248-250). The trees are dignified in themselves and good in their largesse. As the trees share their fruit and perfume the air, the vine also has a communal and extravagant virtue. It "(l)ays forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps/Luxuriant" (4.259,260). The fountain in the garden is naturally formed by a combination of science and morality. The water is drawn to the surface "though veins/Of porous Earth with kindly thirst" (4.227,228). Irrigation is necessary but

motivated by gentleness. The botanical world that springs to life under Milton's hand is not only passively good but actively virtuous.

In common seventeenth century botanical parlance, "virtue" was used to describe a plant's utility. In their gardening books, John Parkinson and John Gerard enumerated the "vertues" of each family of flower that they described; in their view the virtues of flowers were medicinal and cosmetic. John Parkinson, for example, says of the lily: "This hath a millifying, digesting, and cleansing quality, helping to suppurate tumours, and to digest them, for which purpose the root is much used" (40). The Squill or Sea Onion, though it can offer "no pleasure from the sight of the flowers," is effective against problems with the spleen, lungs, stomach, liver, head, heart, dropsies, cough, jaundice, worms, sight, and can provide an antidote for poison (134). In Paradise Lost, the virtues of plants are not only demonstrated in their usefulness to humanity, but also in their active cooperation with each other and in their divinely infused goodness.

In Milton's Satan, we see the approach of the blunderbuss to the natural world. He ignores the plants' virtues and gives attention only to the properties that are of benefit to him. When he first surreptitiously enters the garden, he perches on the Tree of Life, the highest tree in the middle of the garden. These physical properties make it an excellent vantage point from which to view Eden. The narrator tells us that Satan:

> nor on the virtue thought
> Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd
> For prospect, what well us'd had been the pledge
> Of immortality. So little knows
> Any, but God alone, to value right
> The good before him, but perverts best things
> To worst abuse, or to thir meanest use.(4.198-204)

Satan does not recognize that he sits on the Tree of Life, and he ignores the virtue for which it had been created--to give the gift of immortality. He thus puts the tree to its meanest use. In Paradise, only the fallen use nature for their own ends instead of the end for which it was created. When Eve eats from the Tree of Knowledge, she immediately adopts the twisted perspective and speaks of "this fair Fruit/Whose virtue" has given her the opportunity to test Adam's love (9.972,973). The fruit was not created

for that end, but to provide her with the opportunity to demonstrate her own love for God.

When Milton writes of the animals, he gives particular attention to their individual natures and to their goodness, but also to the zest for life of their "living Soul(s)" (7.388). The primary impression one receives of Edenic life for the animal kingdom is one of play. There are innumerable shining fish in the waves that are seen "sporting with quick glance" which show "to the Sun thir wav'd coats dropt with Gold" (7.405,406). The Dolphins and Seals play, while the Leviathan "at his Trunk spouts out a Sea" (7.416). The storks have their own society. They build "thir Eyries" on "Cliffs and Cedar tops," and they fly together "with mutual wing/Easing thir flight" (7.424,429,430). The eagle and the crane fly through the air which "Floats, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes" (7.431,432), as if the air were given pleasure by their flight. Milton begins telling of the creation of the land animals with God's command: "Let th' Earth bring forth Soul living in her kind" (7.451). The animals spring and writhe and rise out of the earth. The lion is seen "pawing to get free/His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,/And Rampant shakes his Brinded mane" (7.464-466). The sheep have an easier passage from dust because their fleecy selves "bleating rose,/As plants" (7.472,473). The narrator describes the animals at play around Adam and Eve:

> Sporting the Lion ramp'd, and in his paw
> Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tigers, Ounces, Pards
> Gamboll'd before them, th' unwieldy Elephant
> To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
> His Lithe Proboscis. (4.343-347)

The animals have their own natures which Adam must recognize when he gives them their names. The different natures also exist in an harmonious society, where they not only forego killing each other, but are allowed a kind of culture as they are entertained by the comic elephant and his wriggling trunk.

The natural world of the garden provides an example of social happiness. Ellen Goodman calls the garden the "ideal subject" because it is obedient to the governance of Adam and Eve. She sees Adam and Eve drawing different parts of nature together to

create a small society of sociable spirits (13). I would suggest that while obedience is indeed the prime virtue, obedience is most importantly of God, not humans. The ideal subject is not only obedient, as Goodman emphasizes, but free and bountifully productive because it is part of a world that is good and in a garden that is happy. Adam and Eve do not only create a society but participate in the art and humour, cooperation and virtue which exists around them; the animals and plants are "sociable spirits" as they act in accord with their own natures entirely without the assistance of Adam and Eve. When we see creation through Milton's eyes, we see a world where there is liberty and abundance for all living things because creation is perfectly good.

The plants, with their virtues both infused and practical, and the animals, which are created to play and to delight (not yet food for anything or anyone), are an integral part of this "happy garden." For Milton, Paradise is not a static place; it is both perfect and in progress. In creating the world, God proclaims his "great idea" that "all th'Earth yields,/Variety without end" (7.541,542). In this, there is change and variation. The garden is also perfect, for the "Innumerous living Creatures" that emerge from Earth's fertile womb are "perfet forms" (7.455). Adam and Eve demonstrate their awareness of the garden's perfection. Eve says of the food that she gives to Raphael for their Edenic luncheon:

> These bounties which our Nourisher, from whom
> All perfet good unmeasur'd out, descends,
> To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
> The Earth to yield. (5.398-401)

The perfection of the food is confirmed by Raphael when Adam asks him if there is perhaps not better food in Heaven. Raphael responds:

> O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom
> All things proceed, and up to him return,
> If not deprav'd from good, created all
> Such to perfection, one first matter all,
> Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
> Of substance, and in things that live, of life; (5.469-474)

Yet in the perfection of Eden which is made of "one first matter," there are also "various degrees/Of substance." The garden is just right, but it can also be improved through

"tract of time." Raphael tells Adam and Eve: "Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,/Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend/Ethereal,as wee, or may at choice/Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell" (5.497-500). For the garden, this suggests that the time may come when the only difference between Eden and Heaven is situation, not degree--Adam and Eve may choose to live in either one. Raphael repeats this later in his discourse as he speaks of the time "under long obedience tri'd" when "Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,/One kingdom, Joy and Union without end" (7.159-161). In the present, Earth and Heaven are different in form, but identical in matter.

A. Bartlett Giamatti depicts Milton's Eden as a place of eternal spring, the traditional garden motif for perfection (301). When Milton mentions that motif, however, he does so to place Eden beyond any existing tradition:

> The Birds thir choir apply; airs, vernal airs,
> Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
> The trembling leaves, while Universal *Pan*
> Knit with the *Graces* and the *Hours* in dance
> Led on th' Eternal Spring. Not that fair field
> Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gath'ring flow'rs
> Herself a fairer Flow'r by gloomy *Dis*
> Was gather'd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain
> To seek her through the world; nor that sweet Grove
> Of *Daphne* by *Orontes*, and th'inspir'd
> *Castalian* Spring might with this Paradise
> Of *Eden* strive; not that *Nyseian* Isle
> Girt with the River *Triton*. . . (4.264-276)

Judging by the metaphors that follow as points of comparison--all found unsatisfactory by Milton--"Eternal Spring" may be both or neither the season and the flow of water from the ground. Eden is not "that fair field/Of Enna" which Ovid describes as a place "where the season is always spring" (Met 5.389;119). Nor is Eden the "Sweet Grove of Daphne by Orontes," wherein there was the "inspir'd/*Castalian* Spring" (4.273,274)--a spring of the watery variety. Milton suggests, I think, that Eden is beyond the possibilities of description that the language available to him could offer. This is due to

the immense goodness of Eden and the fallenness of language, of which John Leonard writes: "When Paradise is lost, Paradise Lost must be fallen" (290).

Seasonal variety rather than stasis is confirmed in a different use of metaphor by the narrator as Raphael, Adam, and Eve are sitting down to lunch. On the table, "All *Autumn* pil'd, though *Spring* and *Autumn* here/Danc'd hand in hand" (5.394,395). Milton animates the stillness of eternal spring into a dance of seasons. Variety is a source of delight in Eden, just as the angels enjoy the daily alteration of light and dark-like dusk. Even in the unfallen world, flowers do not simply bloom on their stems in perpetual youth. Adam complains of the blossoms "and those dropping Gums,/That lie bestrown unsightly and unsmooth" which "Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease" (4.630-632). Eden is a place of both fruition and regeneration. The Fall brings a "change/Of Seasons to each Clime; else had the Spring/Perpetual smil'd on Earth with vernant Flow'rs" (10.677-679). No longer only for delight, variety becomes a necessity. In the poetry of the dance of spring and autumn and of the indeterminate spring, there is more freedom for poetry than there is in the imposed literalness of the seasons in the fallen world.

As many critics have noted, the garden also tends towards excess. Giamatti feels that Milton intentionally gives too much attention to comfort and pleasure in the garden. He suggests that maziness, aimlessness, restlessness, and a general lack of vitality are prominent as latent characteristics so that Milton can show that what is latent can be made active as evil (303-305). To put it this way, however, implies that creation is neither perfect nor wholly good, and it privileges fallen implications of what Milton is depicting as unfallen. It would be better to say that what is good can be perverted, or used for evil, by the will of one who approaches it. To interpret Eden like Giamatti deprives the garden of its innocence. It also, as Diane McColley notes, invests the imagery of the garden with misogyny since Eve is particularly associated with the flowers (Gust 85,86). Instead, the Edenic excess should be viewed as an indication of God's bounty--towards Adam and Eve who have everything they need and more and towards the plants and animals who have the ability to grow and to do it well. Nature has life, we might say, and has it abundantly. The wantonness of the garden that finds its

correspondence in Eve's hair (4.306) is the wantonness of innocence which the OED defines as the ability "to flourish profusely or extravagantly." Excess in production in the garden is only an evil if the desired relationship with nature is domination; in Eden, such a project is doomed to failure. Adam complains that the plants "mock our scant manuring, and require/More hands than ours to lop thir wanton growth" (4.628,629). In Eden, the wildness of nature is a wholehearted sign of freedom because the natural state (or essential state of nature that corresponds to the human inwardness) is good. The danger of evil is not latent within matter, but a possibility that is without in the will of those who approach it.

God is the creator, artist, and "sovran Planter" (4.691) who makes Eden a place where goodness grows in a profusion of loveliness, where morality is an aesthetic. Nature is his canvas and is:

> A Wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
> Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
> Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
> Wild above Rule or Art, enormous bliss. (5.294-297)

God's art of gardening does not impose on nature by making it into "Beds and curious Knots" (4.242). Rather, nature forms itself into art. We see this best in the wedding bower where the irises, roses, and jessamine rear their heads and are "wrought/Mosaic." Underfoot the violet, crocus, and hyacinth "with rich inlay/Broider'd the ground, more colour'd than with stone/Of costliest Emblem" (4.696-703). The verbs belong to the plants; the flowers "wrought" mosaics and embroider the ground through an "inwardness" by which they move in accord with the divine will to beauty. Milton's divine gardener works through nature so that it forms itself into art.

This view on prelapsarian gardening might be contrasted with that presented by Roy Strong writing on the Renaissance garden in England. The Jacobean garden, he says, was a walled enclosure within which nature was tamed by art and made to fulfil the wildest of Mannerist fantasies with riddles of triangles, circles, squares, ovals, and the new hydraulics (136). During the reign of Charles I, he adds, the taming of nature by art became an exercise of the royal will, as the gardens took on a gloss of allegory

that could be read politically (200-202).[2] In Milton's prelapsarian garden, there is no dialectic between the art of gardening and nature. His view is more like that of Sir Thomas Browne, who wrote:

> Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature, they being both the servants of his providence. Art is the perfection of nature: were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a Chaos: nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial, for nature is the art of God. (18).

For Milton, a division between art and nature is a characteristic of fallenness. His own art and the tools of language with which he works are insufficient to describe the nature of Paradise, as we have seen. In Eden, however, the art that is gardening and the world of nature are in perfect harmony.

If God creates the Garden of Eden as art, Adam and Eve interact with it in imitation of him--as artists. There is a difference between divine and human art, however. Where God created through his motions in the plants, Adam and Eve must work as "servants of his providence." Human gardening is an approximation from the outside what God does from the inside. William Lawson, in his A New Orchard and Garden from 1676 but first printed in 1618, calls gardening an "art that stands upon Experimental Rules, gathered by the Rule of Reason" ("Preface"). We do not see Adam and Eve in labcoats, but they do contribute to the beauty and welfare of the garden in practical and artful ways:

> . . .they haste
> Among sweet dews and flow'rs; where any row
> Of Fruit-trees overwoody reach'd too far
> Thir pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
> Fruitless imbraces: or they led the Vine
> To wed her Elm; she spous'd about him twines
> Her marriageable arms, and with her brings

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[2]It should be noted, however, that Strong's conclusion is based more on the landscape plans for masques by Inigo Jones than on the evidence for gardens offered by garden books which probably had a more broadly based circulation. He would do better to confine his discussion to royal gardens perhaps.

> Her dow'r th' adopted Clusters, to adorn
> His barren leaves. (5.211-219)

Adam and Eve create an emblem for their own marriage, at the same time as they perform a service for the garden by bringing the fruitfulness of the vine to an otherwise barren tree.

According to Charlotte Otten, for seventeenth century terraculturists the Garden of Eden was the archetype for all real gardens and God was the prototype for all gardeners (Environ'd 5). Gardening then becomes an imitation of the divine work in the world, a creative art and a service to nature and God. It is, as Shakespeare writes in The Winter's Tale, "an art/Which does mend nature--change it rather; but/The art itself is nature" (4.4.95-97). Ralph Austen writes of husbandry:

> And that it seemes cheifly to be the searching, and finding out the nature of Plants and Trees, and of the Heavens and the Earth, and then to give unto Plants fit place and ordering; according to the nature of the Soyle and Climate; And (as they say) to marry and match together Heaven, and Earth, or to procure a society, and neere fellowship between heaven and earth, for the increase and benefit of Trees and Plants. (14)

Milton is writing about the archetypal garden but his approach is like that of Ralph Austen to the real garden. Gardening is not an interaction between human and natural world based on domination. Rather, there is harmony in the activity as Adam and Eve work towards the "increase and benefit of Trees and Plants." According to Ellen Goodman, Calvin and Luther also saw the idyllic Garden of Eden as a place where the productivity and harmony were not only for human beings but for all of the natural order (12).

The Garden of Eden is a pleasure garden. Adam and Eve can delight in the aesthetic of their work and enjoy the sensuousness of their leisure among fruits and flowers. The labour of pruning is not as necessary for the garden as it is a delight for themselves. The only command that God has given is to serve him by obeying the command "not to taste that only Tree/Of Knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life" (4.423-424). There is no command to work. When gardening is a choice, it is pleasant,

as Adam knows: "Man hath his daily work of body or mind/Appointed, which declares his Dignity,/And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways" (4.618-620). God's work is the world (7.568) and also his art; this is also true for Adam and Eve. Eve is more alert to the delights of the garden--the pleasant sun and the fragrant earth--than Adam who is more concerned with tidying up. Yet, they are not in opposition for art and work are undivided. Francis Bacon, like Eve, expounds upon the delights of the garden. He said in his essay "Of Gardens": "God Almighty first planted a garden. And, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiworks" (246). Ralph Austen begins his discussion of Orchards by writing, more like Milton's Adam, of the work: "God when he would make the life of man Pleasant unto him, he put him into an Orchard or Garden of delights, that he might labour therein with pleasure of mind" (15). Lawson also emphasizes the pleasure that comes from what he calls "this Art":

> . . .how some, and not a few, even of the best, have accounted it a chief part of earthly happiness, to have fair and pleasant Orchards as in Hesperia and Thessaly; how all with one consent agree, That it is a chief part of Husbandry, (as Tully de Senectute) and Husbandry maintains the World; how antient, how profitable, how pleasant it is. ("Preface")

The garden, which God has proclaimed as good, gives delight and pleasure as much as it receives cultivation and direction. An opposition between work and pleasure, like that between nature and culture, will not flourish in the harmony of Milton's Eden.

Satan's reaction provides a contrast to the nurturing and genial interaction which Adam and Eve have with their world. He sees "undelighted all delight" (4.286). When he looks at the "happy fields" of Heaven, he sees a world that looks to the reader much like the natural world of the garden. His impulse is not to assist but to destroy, as he declares to his followers during the war in Heaven:

> This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
> With Plant, Fruit, Flow'r Ambrosial, Gems and Gold,
> Whose Eye so superficially surveys
> These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
> Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,

> Of spiritous and fiery spume,. . .
> These in thir dark Nativity the Deep
> Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame,
> Which into hollow Engines long and round
> Thick ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire
> Dilated and infuriate shall send forth
> From far with thund'ring noise amoung our foes.(6.474-479;482-487)

Satan the blunderer without appreciation for beauty and goodness becomes Satan the builder of cannons. He is the blunderbuss for whom it is superficial to delight in flowers and fruits. Because he wants to make Heaven over to accord with his own mind, he affirms that which is adverse to life and lies below as more substantial. When he invents gunpowder, he exploits nature appointed to other ends to his own and then he turns the potentially destructive end of his big gun towards those whom he hates. From the divine perspective, and that of the prelapsarian Adam and Eve who share it, the world is a place in which to be creative, cooperative, and happy. Satan, on the other hand, wants only to deconstruct and to ruin: "For only in destroying I find ease/To my relentless thoughts" (9.129,130). Yet, he still desires the contentment of happiness.

The garden is a place of harmony between art and nature, pleasure and work. The good air of Eden is diffused through all these other patterns that Milton embroiders into the happy garden. For Milton's contemporaries, life in a garden was conducive to a practical and healthful happiness. As Charlotte F. Otten notes, pure air was of particular concern to seventeenth century Londoners and its ability to dispel sadness was "more than a piece of standardized Paradise equipment for Milton and his contemporaries" ("Native Element" 256). Ralph Austen, in his 1665 Treatise of Fruit-Trees, recommends an orchard of fruit-trees for the good health fostered by the labour and the "fresh and wholesome ayres, which in heat of sommer is found in Arbours, Seats, and Walks, in the garden of Fruit-trees" (40). Blossoms have a "condensing and cooling property" which is healthy for both the body and the mind, "chearing and refreshing the Heart and vitall spirits" (41). In 1662, John Evelyn laments in "Fumifugium: Or the Inconvenience of the Aer and Smoake of London Dissipated" that the health and felicity of the city is being destroyed by the greed of a few polluters.

He adds: "For it is not happiness to possesse Gold, but to enjoy the Effects of it, and to know how to live cheerfully and in health, *Non est vivere, sed valere vita*" (12). Happiness could be directly linked to the air. He argues that good air brings a good disposition, whereas unwholesome smells can cause poor health, bad dispositions, and even rebellion. The air is the vehicle for the soul, as well as an element that permeates the whole body, and so both soul and body are affected by the alterations of the air (35). Everard Maynwaring, in The Method and Means of Enjoying Health from 1683, makes a similar argument in saying that the spirits are etherial and so sympathize with the change in air. He says:

> When the Air is close, thick and moist, the spirits are more dull, heavy, and indisposed; but at the appearance of the Sun, and a serene Skie; the Spirits are unfettered, vigorous and active; the mind more chearful, airy and pleasant.(37)

Robert Burton also recommends walking in orchards and gardens, in part for their good air, as a cure for melancholy (443).

The air in Milton's Garden of Eden is pleasant and conducive to happiness in these practical and physical ways. The air is given a full nineteen lines in Book 4 where we are told of the "pure now purer air" that meets Satan as he approaches Eden (4.153). The air of Eden "inspires/Vernal delight and joy, able to drive/All sadness but despair" (4.154-156). Milton compares the air of Eden to the spicy scent of Arabia experienced by the sailors who sail around the "Cape of hope" and "Mozambic" (4.160,161). They are "Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles" (4.165). Satan is not so gladdened, however. Milton compares him to the demon Asmodeus who flees a "fishy fume"--though the unpleasantness of the experience is less daunting for him. He does not flee but continues to seek entrance to Eden. For the unfallen, the air of Eden is like the breath of God. When God speaks, he fills all Heaven with "ambrosial fragrance" that "in the blessed Spirits elect/Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd" (3.135-137).

The garden is good in the general sense that it was created out of God, but it also demonstrates the more sublime goodness of a sacred place. The air is like the "ambrosial fragrance" of God's speeches. It permeates every corner with its presence

and indicates the holiness of the garden. When Raphael describes the creation of the botanical world with its frizzle haired bush and sweet smelling gourds and flowers, he offers another indication:

> That Earth now
> Seem'd like to Heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell,
> Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
> Her sacred shades. (7.328-331)

It is a place fit for gods, as Eve will later say, and Eden's shades are sacred. Happiness, like light, is numinous. In the hymn which begins Books 3, Milton writes of "holy light": "since God is Light,/And never but in unapproached Light/Dwelt from Eternity, dwelt then in thee,/Bright effluence of bright essence increat" (3.3-6). Luther's commentary on Ecclesiastes offers a connection between holy light and happiness:

> "To see the sun" is Hebrew for "to enjoy things and take pleasure in them." For this physical life has the sun as a sort of very sacred divine power, one that is supremely necessary for moral men. Without it everything seems and is sad, as Christ also says (John 12:35;11:9): "He who walks in the darkness does not know where he goes. But if anyone walks in the day, he does not stumble, because he sees the light of the world." (96)

According to Michael Lieb in Poetics of the Holy, light indicates God's dwelling presence in Paradise Lost and in Jewish and Christian texts: "Shekinah, 'the dwelling,' represented 'the majestic presence or manifestation of God which had descended to 'dwell' in this mundane sphere, sent forth by God, or come from him, to 'dwell' among men'" (215). What Lieb says of light, I will say of happiness. Those places where God dwells--heaven, stars, and garden--are both holy and happy.

Eden is a happy place because it is a place where God dwells, quite literally. When Adam relates the story of his creation, he tells of the "Presence Divine" that appears among the trees and becomes his guide (8.314). After he has been told that he must leave the garden, Adam bemoans his loss by remembering the places in the garden where God had appeared:

> here I could frequent,
> With worship, place by place where he voutsaf'd

> Presence Divine, and to my Sons relate;
> On this Mount he appear'd, under this Tree
> Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
> I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd. (11.316-322)

Communion with the divine is characteristic of the "happy place," but no matter how spacious, a God who is holy prefers walled enclosure. Michael Lieb demonstrates this divine demand for sacred places with his study of the correspondences between the enclosed garden and the enclosed temple in the Old Testament, and the Garden of Eden and Heaven in Paradise Lost (135). A God who is holy can tolerate, judging by his speech in Book 3, nothing less than sinless perfection in his presence. As Thomas Traherne wrote in his Centuries of Meditations, "holiness and happiness were the same" (4.31).

But to emphasize more, what Lieb emphasizes less, Eden's wall is a touchstone for those who approach it, as much as it is a barrier between sacred and profane. When Milton brings his readers towards the garden with the ascent of Satan, the first physical characteristic that we see is the walls and gate of Paradise. Satan's first perception is one of exclusion. Readers are told of the steep wilderness, "whose hairy sides/With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,/Access deni'd" (4.135-137). The wall of Paradise at the top of this mount is "verdurous" and higher than the cedars, pines, firs, and palms within its boundaries. Either inside or outside this wall, there is another encircling row of "goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit" (4.147) which grows higher than the wall. Satan's perspective offers indeterminacy, as if he cannot fathom the complexities of this wall.

Satan's presentation of garden wall as threatening boundary is not the only one available. When Adam tells of his journey into the garden after his creation outside of it, he does not depict the world outside the garden as wilderness, nor does he rage against a boundary of thickets that deny him access. For Adam, the world outside Eden is different by degree rather than kind. Adam tells of the animals, birds, and fragrance, and of the "Hill, Dale, and shady Woods, and sunny Plains,/and liquid Lapse of murmuring Streams" (8.262-263). There is such loveliness that Adam says, "with joy

my heart o'erflow'd" (8.266). When he arrives in Eden, the outside world dims in comparison with its magnificence, but the non-Edenic world is clearly not an earthly Hell pressing against its gates. Adam's entrance into the garden differs from the arduous journey which Satan had to make. God takes Adam by the hand and they float up the "woody Mountain" and over the wall to land gently in Paradise, "smooth sliding without step" (8.302).

The attitude towards boundaries is as essential to happiness as the boundaries themselves. If Milton's garden wall is intended to keep trespassers out, it is pathetically porous, for it lets Satan the trespasser in as easily as Adam who is invited. The first time that Satan approaches Eden he shows his "contempt"--for God as much as boundary--by leaping over "all bound/Of Hill or highest Wall" (4.181-182). Even after the angels have been warned of Satan's advances on Paradise and keep watch for him, the wall is ineffective as a barrier. Satan reenters Eden by sinking into the river Tigris which flows out of the garden and then rising again within the walls, "involv'd in rising Mist" (9.75). In the world created by Milton's God, physical boundaries have little force against those who wish to transgress them. The walls of Paradise are like the gates of Hell at which God places Sin and Death as guards, when practically speaking, good angels would have been less amenable to Satan's plans for escape.

For Milton, the only impermeable boundaries are those chosen by the will, the inward discipline of choice. The same external boundaries that protect might also confine. His God is a respecter of external boundaries and the perfect self-governor. During the war in Heaven, God does not reach "beyond all limit, at one blow/Unaided" (6.140,141) to finish the forces of Satan. In creation, he withdraws himself to give freedom to what he has created:

> Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
> Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
> Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.
> Though I uncircumscrib'd myself retire,
> And put not forth my good, which is free
> To act or not, Necessity and Chance
> Approach not mee, and what I will is Fate. (7.167-173)

The garden wall does not provide protection for the happy garden, but is a requirement of divine holiness and an opportunity for the demonstration of free will and right choices in those who respond to that holiness.

Milton's God and garden wall can be contrasted with other seventeenth century garden walls presented by Stanley Stewart, who writes on the tradition of the enclosed garden. He concludes: "the figure of the garden wall functioned as an emblem of divine intervention, pointing up the power of Grace to undo the natural propensities of human will" (59). Stewart's conclusion is illustrated by George Herbert's poem "Paradise," which contains the lines: "What open force, or hidden CHARM/Can blast my fruit, or bring me HARM,/While the inclosure is thine ARM" (Herbert 317). Milton offers a different view. His wall is an emblem, not of divine intervention on human will, but of deliberate divine detachment so that human will can be free. In this plan, there are increased dangers but also increased possibilities for good. In Book 3, Milton has his God remind us that he wants freely given love: "What pleasure I from such obedience paid,/When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)/Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,/Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,/Not mee" (3.107-111). God would be unhappy if living in freedom were a passive rather than an active virtue for those he has created. In the following chapters of this thesis, Milton's view of Christian liberty becomes central to the human experience of happiness. On this, much more will be said. For now, it is sufficient to note that the "happy garden" is a testing ground for those who approach it and that it is involved in making virtue active in others as it is actively virtuous.

In what has been said thus far, it should be apparent that Milton's garden is above all a place of creative action. The garden is not only happy and "happy-making" because it is a place of health, goodness, and art, but because it is a place of contemplation and poetry. To leave poetry for the following chapter, here we will muse for a while on contemplation. The garden provides a visual metaphor for understanding the God who dwells there. Adam responds to Raphael's message that they may improve through "tract of time":

> Well has thou taught the way that might direct
> Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
> From centre to circumference, whereon
> In contemplation of created things
> By steps we may ascend to God. (5.508-512)

Milton's theory of accommodation applied to the prelapsarian world assumes an altered form. God does not make himself known through the metaphors of language as much as those of nature. In Christian Doctrine, theology for the fallen, Milton writes that God offers himself for contemplation through the accommodation of Scripture: "For granting that both in the literal and figurative descriptions of God, he is exhibited not as he really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions (14.31). In Eden, nature is sufficient to "ascend to God," as in Romans 1:20: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse."

The garden is the metaphor for things divine. John Parkinson, author of the largest, most detailed gardening book of the seventeenth century, wrote that a garden provides a metaphor for those who seek to do good ("To the courteous reader"). In Otten's view, it was more than a conceit to use the garden to illustrate the things of heaven; it was the result of experience: "Had these writer-practitioners not been able to discover the incomprehensible power and wise benevolence of God in his vegetable creation, in all likelihood they would not have practiced the terracultural profession with such zealous confidence nor written about it with such confident zeal" (Environ'd 2). While this is rather an unwise way of expressing her view--requiring as it does proof of the existence of God for these gardeners to experience--Otten does usefully point out the as yet unbroken link between thinking about nature and about God.

When Raphael teaches Adam and Eve about the differences of degree between earthly bodies and heavenly, he does so with the analogy of a plant:

> So from the root
> Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves

> More aery, last the bright consummate flow'r
> Spirits odorous breathes. (5.479-482)

Through visible vegetable creation, Adam and Eve can understand the invisible things of God, how "body up to spirit work" (5.478). Later Adam is told of another source of knowledge about God: "Heav'n/Is as the Book of God before thee set,/Wherein to read his wond'rous Works, and learn/His seasons, Hours, or Days, or Months or Years" (8.66-69). Hugh Plat, who named his seventeenth century gardening book The Garden of Eden or An Accurate Description of all flowers and fruits now growing in England, saw the knowledge of nature gained through experience as "higher and deeper discoveries" (16). He concludes his introduction: "I leave you to the God of Nature, from whom all the true light of Nature proceedeth" (16). William Lawson also saw gardening as an opportunity for education about the "Secrets of Nature it doth contain" (n.p.). Milton's Adam and Eve learn from the happy garden--with the assistance of divine revelation which teaches them to read "the book of God"--about their own future and about things divine.

The expulsion into the world of woe and sorrow is, of course, the end of the story, or at least almost the end. The harmonious natural world is disrupted as God changes the principles of virtue with which it was created. At the Fall, the winds begin to bluster, the poles of the Earth are shifted from its axle, and the angels "with labor push'd/Oblique the Centric Globe" (11.670,671)--among other glitches in the system that they introduce at God's command (11.651-705):

> Thus began
> Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first
> Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,
> Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy. (10.706-709)

But the poem does not end with "fierce antipathy." Before Adam and Eve leave the garden, Michael tells them of the "paradise within thee, happier far" which restores to them the happy state that they have lost. In studying the happiness of garden life, we can see both what is lost, and what can be found again. Milton's Earthly Paradise is a happy place of diversity. It is a place where God can walk in the natural world, holy

and enclosed, yet spacious and freedom-giving. It is a place where the inwardness and choice of those who approach it define their experience of its happiness as much as the place itself. All matter, including plants and animals, is infused with virtue and are created good. As such, the natural world forms a society of its own and demonstrates the sociable characteristics of individuals living in harmony and sharing with each other for the benefit of all. The air of the garden seems to receive the greatest benefit from the bounty of the garden and in return provides much pleasure for the human inhabitants. The garden is, moreover, a place where Art and Nature are in balance, working together for the benefit of the community, both botanical and human. Happiness in Eden is holiness and it is harmony.

Chapter Two: Life in the Garden: "Thrice happy if they know thir happiness"

In this chapter, our attention is shifted away from the three-dimensional Eden. Milton's happy garden recedes to hang as an arras at the back of the stage upon which Adam and Eve emerge as characters who possess prelapsarian human happiness. Only Irene Samuel in Plato and Milton has devoted considerable space to discussion of Milton and the idea of happiness. In comparing Milton to his philosophical predecessor, she proposes that Paradise Regained offers Milton's ultimate view of happiness: "the happiness of love, founded in trust, expressing itself in obedience to the moral law, and fulfilled in the perfect harmony of the soul within itself and within the divinely ordered universe which is its home" (171). Samuel wrote this forty-five years ago and since then, it seems fair to say, Milton's references to happiness, actually more frequent in Paradise Lost than Paradise Regained, tend to be passed over unexamined by critics on their way to other excellent ends. Or to approach the absence of attention to Milton and happiness from another direction, there is also Diane McColley's criticism in A Gust for Paradise from 1993 of what she calls "reductive psychologies or theories of power and patronage" which when faced with "representations of blessedness so thoroughly drain them of significance as to seem biased against joy" (Gust 2).

I will argue that in Paradise Lost Milton is working with an idea of happiness that was common in his historical context, but also adapting it to his own views on Christian liberty. When we look at Adam and Eve's prelapsarian happiness, we see that it consists of living in harmony and love, first with each other, and then with their world, but most importantly with their God. This relationship with God permeates the other interactions and is also the basis for self-knowledge. These four elements--creative and loving human relationships with others, nature, God, and self--are the basis of fulfilled desire and the essence of happiness in Milton's Eden. From this contentment and happiness comes the art of poetry, the sweetest fruit of Adam and Eve's happy experience.

The first of the relationships which Milton describes as happy is marriage. Although there is much that can be said about Milton and his presentation of marriage in Paradise Lost, I will limit the picture by allowing happiness to be the frame. For one

thing, I do not wish to become a defender of Milton and his views of women. Diane McColley has filled that role quite adequately with her book Milton's Eve and if she has shown nothing else, it is that any perspective on the issue must include the entire poem to understand the balance which Milton places between Adam and Eve. No single incident is indicative of anything when it comes to Eve and her gender. Thus, marriage--like wisdom and liberty--is a topic which can quickly expand beyond the bounds of a thesis. This thesis is focused on happiness, and like Milton's happiness, finds its sufficiency only within boundaries.

Of all the things which can be related to happiness, marriage receives Milton's most enthusiastic blessing. He wrote in several of his prose works that he considered marriage to be an important part of the happy life. In Christian Doctrine, he observed: "It is the peculiar province of God to make marriage prosperous and happy" (15.151). In his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, he suggested that if a couple is unfittly married, ". . .that their continuing to be man and wife is against the glory of God and their mutuall happinesse, it may assure them that God never joined them; who hath reveal'd his gracious will not to set the ordinance above the man for whom it was ordain'd" (3.424). There is an affection for the relationship in his words and an inclusion of the divine in its happiness. God, he says, is involved in making marriage happy; conversely, if God is not making husband and wife happy, he must not have brought them together. Milton joins his Adam and Eve with the same attention to their happiness:

> Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
> Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
> Fair couple, linkt in happy nuptial League
> Alone as they. (4.337-340)

There is nothing wanting, he says, in their life together in the original happy marriage. As Aristotle wrote in Nichomachean Ethics, their happiness is a kind of self-sufficiency. Such sufficiency is not for one who lives in solitude, but for "a man who also lives with parents, children, a wife, and friends and fellow citizens generally, since man is by nature a social and political being" (1.7). Adam and Eve are social and political by

nature, and they are happy because that need for community is met in their love for each other. The three attributes of this simple statement--Adam and Eve's nature, their need or desire, and their contentment in love--form the main elements of the discussion of happiness and marriage that will follow.

The issue of desire is central in writings about happiness. They tend to express the view that unfulfilled desire is incompatible with happiness, while completely fulfilled desire is incongruent with the life which we live. Milton reconciles contentment and desire in his vision of the present in the unfallen world, but he does not exclude desire to reach this end. Augustine, on the other hand, banished desire from Paradise because he thought it incompatible with the "entire tranquillity of the soul." He wrote in The City of God: "Just as in paradise there was no extreme of heat or of cold, so in its inhabitants no desire or fear intervened to hamper his good will" (14.26). In Milton's Eden, desire provides the opportunity for the demonstration of liberty as Adam and Eve make choices towards its fulfilment.

Milton also does not separate the life of the body from the happy life in Eden. Thomas Aquinas, although discussing happiness from a postlapsarian perspective, thought that desire could only be met by God who is spirit:

> It is impossible for man's happiness to consist in a created good, for happiness is the perfect good which wholly brings desire to rest, for it would not be an ultimate end if something should still remain to be desired. Now the object of the will, or human appetite, is the universal good, just as the object of the intellect is universal truth. Hence it is evident that nothing can bring the will of man to rest except the universal good. This is not found in any created thing but only in God, for all creatures have goodness by participation. Hence only God can satisfy the will of man, as is said (Psalms 102:5), "Who satisfieth thy desire with good things." Therefore man's happiness consists in God alone. (Q.2.art.8)

There are two aspects to what Aquinas is saying. One is that happiness is in God who fulfills all desires, a proposition with which there is no disagreement in this poem, as we shall see. I think, however, that Milton's vision of marriage would challenge the view

that happiness is not in created good. When we compare Milton to his contemporary Joseph Glanvill, we see the same rejection of the creatures:

> We were made for Happiness, and Happiness all the World seeks: who will shew us any good? Psal.4.6. is the voice of all the Creatures. We have sought it long in emptiness, and shadows; and that search hath still ended in shame and disappointment. Where true substantial Felicity is, we know, and the Way we know, Joh. 14.4. (85)

God has made matter good and thus, where these other views are premised upon a division of body and spirit, Milton's view is not. The "creatures" are not emptiness and shadows, but reflections of God's goodness and love and participants in the happiness which is for all.

For Milton, prelapsarian marriage is happy because it is not an exception to this rule of desire satisfied through participation in created good. In Eden, desire is met, not through any divine infusion of placidity, but through the activity of Adam and Eve's intellect and will as they, with God, direct themselves towards contentment. Milton's Adam is by nature incomplete, though among fields of flowers and the society of animals. He recognizes this soon after his creation, and he asks God in a friendly conversation: "In solitude/What happiness, who can enjoy alone,/Or all enjoying, what contentment find?"(8.364-366). What he needs, Adam presumptuously tells God, is a fit companion to make his happiness full:

> Of fellowship I speak
> Such as I seek, fit to participate
> All rational delight, wherein the brute
> Cannot be human consort. (8.389-392)

Adam longs for a rational conversant like to himself, with whom to talk and to find delight. Adam recognizes his difference from unGod-like desire for companionship and he knows his need for God to fill it. God is "sufficiently possesst/Of happiness" in solitude (8.404,405), and should he wish to be social, also has the power to create a fit conversant as he made Adam. Adam, however, can neither create an Eve nor change the natures of the animals to his own ends. And so, in response to Adam's demonstration of self-knowledge, God creates Eve as a sufficient and abundant response

to Adam's awareness of insufficiency. The meeting of desire is an act of cooperation between Adam as the one expressing need and God who answers it. Milton describes this movement towards contentment specifically as happiness.

Of Milton and Eve's insufficient nature, much has been said. It is disturbing to think of Eve as one created to fill a void in another, since that subjects her will and desire to Adam's, but the poem's structure, which places Eve's narrative of her desire first, resists such a reading. As Eve relates the story of her creation, we see her own desire and recognition of need for God and other people. Eve's own first response to her world is to ask: "what I was, whence thither brought, and how" (4.452). She thinks she finds the answer to this question about her nature and her creator in the pool, but her understanding needs to be corrected. The divine voice warns her:

> What thou seest,
> What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
> With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
> And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
> Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
> Whose image thou art, him thou shalt enjoy
> Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
> Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
> Mother of human Race. (4.467-475)

I agree with Mary Nyquist who argues that when Eve learns of her self, that she is "Mother of human Race," her experience is constituted more in terms of error than Adam's creation epiphany (120). The frame of the Narcissus myth requires it. But Milton does not abandon Eve to the fate of Narcissus and brings her towards Adam, and away from the static pool. There is a balance, even if not quite equal, between the two narratives. They both receive companions in response to their need for "other selves." If the divine voice had not spoken, Eve tells us, at the edge of the pool she would have stayed and "pin'd with vain desire" (4.466). As for Adam, her self-insufficiency is confirmed as she, a social being, is made sufficient and happy by relationships.

The patriarchy of Milton's order is undeniable. Eve is subordinate in their relationship, especially in her acknowledgment of Adam as superior because of his "manly grace and wisdom." But female subordination need not be reduced to and

explained by misogyny. Inferiority in Paradise Lost is no easy doctrine of power structures, as William Shullenberger explains:

> "Superiority" and "inferiority" are thus not static but processive and relational concepts, terrifically complicated in the poem by at least four factors: rhetorical context, as I have suggested; the dynamics of human relationship; the Puritan understanding that all rational beings are equal in their responsibilities to God; and the Gospel paradox that the last shall be first, which turns all conventional thinking about hierarchy on its head. Diane McColley may be understating the point when she succinctly declares, "in *Paradise Lost* subordination is not inferiority." (75)

The devils define their relationships to each other in terms of power. They follow Satan as "thir great Potentate" for his great name, his degree in Heaven, his countenance, and his rhetorical skills (5.706-710). Abdiel, conversely, honours God with obedience and serves with "his Love, his Zeal" (6.900). The order of Milton's divinely ordained hierarchy is based on service and love, not oppression and power. Milton demonstrates an awareness of the difference between the two approaches.

If we return to the fulfilment of desire as the essential quality of happiness, we see that in Milton's Eden, desire is not vain. Both Adam and Eve express it in longing for other selves, to know themselves, and their creator--vain only is the desire that is unmet or unmeetable. Just as Milton created a garden that was both perfect and progressing, the people in it are not complete on the day that they begin to live. The wish to have more can be seen as the workings of God in them; the desire fulfilled is a result of the benevolence of God who responds and the dignity of their own will. Milton writes in Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce of a "rationall burning that marriage is to remedy." There is "this pure and more inbred desire of joyning to itself in conjugall fellowship a fit conversing soul (which desire is properly called love)" which cannot be quenched and was not resisted even in Paradise (3.397). Robert Harris, one of Milton's contemporaries, wrote that God:

> . . .hath first planted in man holy desires and affections, and that not in vain. In nature, desires are made for delights, emptinesse is made for fulnesse, motion for rest;

> for every thing moves that it may attain rest. Nature we say, doth nothing in vain, it abhores vacuity: so doth grace much more. Gods blessing followes ever upon good desires, wherewith they are filled. (Way 162)

As Milton's God created the world out of himself and then withdrew from it to leave space for human action, he leaves the room of "holy desire" to allow for choice and individuation. God does not create desires without creating the means for their satisfaction, but this satisfaction is not given before Adam and Eve ask. They each must choose their own contentment.

In Eden, desire is acknowledged to be sexual as well as social. We see this in the narrator's comments about Adam and Eve. He adopts a tone of unapologetic candour and aggressive regret at what has been lost. Catherine Gimelli Martin finds this to be remarkable: "One of the chief innovations in Milton's conception of paradise is his frank acceptance of desire as an essential and inalienable attribute of the human condition" (237). Barbara Kiefer Lewalski compares Milton to his tradition and notes: "Adam and Eve have sexual relations in Eden, accompanied not only with pleasure and delight but with a powerful sensuality which threatens to subject the reason and which causes the perturbations of passion" ("Innocence" 99). Including his physical life in his happy life, Adam says: "here passion first I felt,/Commotion strange" (8.530,531). The naked Adam and Eve, their pleasure and their absence of shame, bring about the narrator's only uses of "happiest" in Paradise Lost. Early in Book 4, the narrator asserts:

> Not those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
> Then was not guilty shame: dishonest shame
> Of Nature's works, honor dishonorable,
> Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
> With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
> And banisht from man's life his happiest life,
> Simplicity and spotless innocence.
> So passed they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
> Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:
> So hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
> That ever since in love's imbraces met. (4.312-322)

In Milton's unfallen Eden, all matter is absolutely good. He offers a glimpse into the unfallen world and his readers are expected to look without shame, to return to Eden for a moment and experience the purity of the happiness of their first parents.

As Adam and Eve retreat into their bower, Milton provides a hymn to love. Again he adopts a tone of defiance: "Whatever Hypocrites austerely talk/Of purity and place and innocence,/ Defaming as impure what God declares/Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all" (4.744-747). This relationship is instituted to fill a social desire but offers physical pleasure. It is the life of simplicity and innocence, the relationship in which they are said to be: "O yet happiest if ye seek/No happier state, and know to know no more" (4.774-775). Monism rather than dualism, informs Milton's mature poetry and prose. Christopher Hill writes of Milton's philosophy:

> 'All entity is good.' Evil does not come from God; it is the consequence of the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels, and of Adam's free choice of evil for which all his posterity is punished. Milton rejects any form of dualism. Though he distinguishes between soul and body, he does not conceive of their separate existence. 'The human soul is generated by the parents in the course of nature, not created daily by the immediate act of God.' (328)

If all matter is good, then the life and pleasure of the body are also good. Diane McColley writes of life in the garden from this perspective and sees "the sense of wholeness, connectedness, and blessedness that composes the felicity of Milton's Garden" (Eve 11). Happiness is not only the life of the spirit, but body and spirit living in harmony.

This happiness of contentment is not beyond the grasp of the present; it is held firmly in hand. The possession of contentment is a precise filling of exact measurement, not the glut of excess. When Raphael tells Adam and Eve of the future when "Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit," he also reminds them of the present: "Meanwhile enjoy/Your fill what happiness this happy state/Can comprehend, incapable of more" (5.497,503-505). If desire is the empty jar, then happiness is the lid to its perfect fullness. The narrator observes Eve as she departs from Adam and Raphael to garden rather than to dispute the nature of the universe: "And from about her shot Darts of

desire/Into all Eyes to wish her still in sight" (8.62,63). The desiring eyes do not meet an answering glance as Eve expresses her own will to tend to the flowers; Adam is not unhappy, however, and continues his discussion with Raphael. There is a time for all things--a time to garden, a time to pray, a time to love and a time to talk. In the measured rhythm of the variety, Adam and Eve are happy in the present.

To hear of the possibilities of future happiness does not upset this balance. At the end of his dialogue, Raphael indicates something of future happiness in a discussion of angelic sex, but it is not a revelation that causes dissatisfaction with the present. When Adam asks Raphael if the angels express their love by looks only or "do they mix/Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?" (8.616,617), Raphael replies with a blush: "Let it suffice thee that thou know'st/Us happy, and without Love no happiness" (8.620,621). He continues: "if Spirits embrace,/Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure/Desiring" (8.626-628). By participating in created good with a temperate will, the possibility of more good does not increase desire; it merely increases knowledge. The angels, too, are temperate creatures:

> They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
> Quaff immortality and joy, secure
> Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
> Excess, before th' all bounteous King, who show'r'd
> With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy. (5.637-641).

For all but God, the full measure of happiness is found within bounds made by the active tempering of the will. Desire is met, not by the forced conformity of others to one's own will, but by the love of God and others like themselves, whether angel or human. In Eden, there is no unrequited love and so there is no discontentment. There is a perfect balance between the free will of individuals who desire love from others, and that same autonomous free will in others who can choose to respond or not--a juxtaposition that must be a peculiarity of Eden where no one would choose to hate, because it is logically impossible.

The extremes in which the devils find themselves provide a contrast to the balance with which Adam and Eve live. Belial strives towards an attitude whereby the devils might find contentment but his method is flawed. He decides they can live without

pleasure, but "pain is perfet misery, the worst/Of evils, and excessive, overturns/All patience" (6.462-464). The devils' proposal of Stoicism is upset by the excess of pain which their will to patience cannot withstand. Death, too, is a creature of excess, one of those "who with eternal Famine pine(s)" (10.597)--never to be fulfilled. If marriage is happy because it is the meeting of all desire for conversation and communion through love, Satan experiences the opposite in his solitude and hate. As he watches Adam and Eve together, he says:

> Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two
> Imparadis't in one another's arms
> The happier *Eden*, shall enjoy thir fill
> Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
> Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
> Among our other torments not the least,
> Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines. (4.505-511)

Satan recognizes the completeness of their relationship, but he cannot appreciate it with delight; the sight becomes a source of envy and "fierce desire." Together, however, Adam and Eve are Paradise itself, "imparadis't in one another's arms/The happier Eden." All the characteristics of the garden--its art, health, pleasure, love, fruitfulness, and most of all contentment and happiness--are contained within and surpassed by the relationship of the two small figures in the landscape.

Through this attention to balance, love, and sufficiency, Milton turns Adam and Eve into artists. As I mentioned in Chapter One, their work in the garden was a visual art. They are also poets and make language their instrument. Adam and Eve are "in the happy Garden plac't,/Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,/Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love/In blissful solitude" (3.66-68). The "happy Garden" and its "blissful solitude" are stock requirements of the meditative poet. Marvell's "The Garden," for example, ends:

> Such was that happy Garden-state
> While Man there walk'd without a Mate:
> After a Place so pure, and sweet,
> What other Help could yet be meet!
> But 'twas beyond a Mortal's share
> To wander solitary there:

> Two Paradises 'twere in one
> To live in Paradise alone. (57-64)

Adam and Eve are only solitary when considered as a duo, a rather communal solitude. Where Marvell's poet finds life in the garden to be "beyond a Mortal's share," Milton's poets are uninterrupted in their present, human existence. Thomas Aquinas, who divides happiness into perfect and imperfect states, argues that earthly happiness can only be imperfect. The activity by which one is united to God, contemplation, is that which makes one happy; this activity is interrupted and discontinuous in the present life. Therefore, mortal life can only offer imperfect happiness (Q.3.art.2). Adam and Eve are different. They are the possessors of perfect, uninterrupted happiness in the garden and with each other. They are in the ideal environment for the composition of poetry, and so they do. Their poetry is a further reflection of their relationships as they compose together, not by putting words on paper, but as communication with each other and with God.

The poetry of Eden is connected to life there, as is particularly apparent in Book 4, from line 698 to line 775. Diane McColley calls this poetry "eco-verse" because it arises from an awareness of the multiplicity of creatures and an ecological form of consciousness, from the connectedness in all creation (Gust 184). There is a rhythm to life in Eden, of morning prayers and noon lunches, afternoon work and evening retirement. Adam and Eve in their marriage participate in that harmony begun by God. Adam says to Eve in the evening:

> Fair Consort, th'hour
> Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest
> Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
> Labor and rest, as day and night to men
> Successive, and the timely dew of sleep
> Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines
> Our eye-lids. (4.610-616)

Their life is "timely" as it moves from work to rest, day to night, wake to sleep. They know the morning will come again and they can continue their work, but in the meantime they are content to sleep.

Eve's love song demonstrates the same qualities of contentment, harmony, and pleasure. She first declares herself to be happy with Adam: "God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more/Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise" (4.637,638). Her poem chronicles the progress of a happy day, like the movement in "Il Penseroso." Maren-Sofie Røstvig argues that this earlier poem follows the Horatian practice, in the *beatus ille* tradition, of pursuing the course of a single day (100). Eve's poem tells of the sun rising, the earliest birds singing, and the Sun moving into the sky to warm plants and earth. At the end of the day, the sun sets, in "grateful Ev'ning mild, then silent Night/With this her solemn Bird and this fair Moon" (4.647,648). Eve, then, is much like the Horatian "happy man." The movement and delights of the day find their still point in Adam, without whom she declares nothing would be sweet.

Eve best demonstrates the principle by which marriage is happy. She is happy, not in solitude, but in relation of herself to another. When she offers praise to God for marriage, she includes the divine in its happiness:

> For wee to him indeed all praises owe,
> And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
> So far the happier Lot, enjoying thee
> Preeminent by so much odds, while thou
> Like consort to thyself canst nowhere find. (4.444-448)

She declares herself to be the happier of the two in that she has the privilege of "enjoying" one "preeminent" in Adam. Eve's declaration of her inferiority to Adam is certainly not to Milton's credit and should not be ignored. But when discussing happiness, Eve emerges as the most excellent example of the happiness of relating through love. Happiness is not achieved at the expense of Eve, but for all including her, through the principles which she best demonstrates. Eve's skill at being happy becomes a pattern in the poem and she demonstrates it in the other attributes of the happy life--wisdom and obedience--as well.

To turn to the relationship by which humans interact with their world, a second point of focus in our nexus of relationships, we see that wisdom also contributes to the happy life. In Eden, happiness is found in wisdom because it is a result of interrelating; wisdom is happy because it is as much an act of love as of intellect. Adam and Eve's

"inbred desire" for society was both created and met by God. So is their desire for knowledge. Boethius writes in Consolation of Philosophy of this desire:

> It is clear, therefore, that happiness is a state made perfect by the presence of everything that is good, a state, which, as we said, all mortal men are striving to reach though by different paths. For the desire for true good is planted by nature in the minds of men, only error leads them astray towards false good. (3.2)

Raphael the divine teacher comes to them, and over the social occasion of lunch, provides them with a sufficient end to meet their quest for "true good." When Adam asks Raphael of the beginnings of Heaven, Raphael responds:

> Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
> To glorify the Maker, and infer
> Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
> Thy hearing, such Commission from above
> I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
> Of knowledge within bounds. (7.115-120)

According to Raphael, there is a principle by which learning takes place: "But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less/Her Temperance over Appetite, to know/In measure what the mind may well contain" (7.126-128). As for marriage where desire is met by the temperate will responding to the sufficient gift of God, this inner discipline is also essential to wisdom. Thus, great quantities of knowledge do not create a wise person (which is, in my view, rather an odd position to take for one so quantifiably knowledgable as Milton). The wise person is one who creates bounds by acknowledging difference from the Maker and then receives knowledge to fill the measure through a relationship with God.

For Adam, this principle means not knowing whether the universe is constructed according to a Ptolemaic or Copernican model. The question of "Whether the Sun predominant in Heav'n/Rise on the Earth, or Earth rise on the Sun" (8.160,161), is less important than knowing the reciprocal relationships in nature. The former is hidden from Adam who does not have a telescope; the latter is available to him in awareness of the "Communicating Male and Female Light,/Which two great Sexes animate the World"

(8.150,151). He hears of the possibility that the sun may be as a star which enlightens the moon by day, as the moon lights the earth at night. Adam also hears of the virtue in the relationship between Sun and Earth:

> consider first, that Great
> Or Bright infers not Excellence: the Earth
> Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,
> Nor glistering, may of solid good contain
> More plenty than the Sun that barren shines,
> Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
> But in the fruitful Earth. (8.90-96)

Satan, on the other hand, assumes that great and bright infers excellence. He thought the Sun would be the dwelling place for the "happy race of man" because it was the brightest and seemed the most powerful. Raphael teaches Adam of the excellence of other values, of cooperating and relating in love. The angelic lesson concludes by reiterating the relationships that are to be the guiding factors in Adam's desire to know:

> joy thou
> In what he gives to thee, this Paradise
> And thy fair *Eve*: Heav'n is for thee too high
> To know what passes there; be lowly wise:
> Think only what concerns thee and thy being. (8.170-174)

Raphael directs him to be contented with what has been revealed and what is evident. Adam accepts this as he says: "but to know/That which before us lies in daily life,/Is the prime Wisdom; what is more, is fume,/Or emptiness, or fond impertinence" (8.192-195). There is emptiness in seeking beyond what is relationally important or humanly unknowable, but there is fulfilment in the wisdom of daily life. For Milton, this happiness that is wisdom is the result of the inner activity of the temperate will and the activity of charity in remembering relationships with God, the world around, and each other. Wisdom is not simply knowledge for its own sake.

Satan acknowledges no boundaries or self-discipline. In his mission to destroy the happiness of Adam and Eve, his plan of attack is to turn their contentment with wisdom into a perception of ignorance. He announces his intention to excite their desire to know:

> Knowledge forbidd'n?
> Suspicious, reasonless. Why should thir Lord
> Envy them that? can it be sin to know,
> Can it be death? and do they only stand
> By Ignorance, is that thir happy state,
> The proof of thir obedience and thir faith? (4.515-520)

In abandoning his relation to God, Satan leaves behind the possibility of possessing wisdom. We must not forget that the devils in Hell take part in philosophical arguments but Milton does not deem their efforts to be wise:

> Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,
> In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
> Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,
> Fixt Fate, Free will, Foreknowledge absolute,
> And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.
> Of good and evil much they argu'd then,
> Of happiness and final misery,
> Passion and Apathy, and glory and shame,
> Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie. (2.557-565)

These philosophers are set apart on a hill, but unlike Michael and Adam who ascend the speculative mount to attain "Visions of God" (11.377), the devils ignore the most important ingredient in any mixture of Miltonic wisdom--the love of God. Because of their disobedience they have been shut up in Hell. They are in "wand'ring mazes lost" and their quest for happiness can never find an end. By rejecting God as guide to knowledge, they have made it impossible to find true happiness or wisdom. Satan distorts Adam and Eve's contentment with appropriate knowledge into the "ignorance is bliss" theory--from which it follows that if they are content without knowing everything, they must be stupid. But for Milton, to be happy in knowledge is not to be happy because one knows everything. Wisdom is valuing knowledge rightly, which begins with the premise that the most important knowledge is of God. As Milton writes in Christian Doctrine, wisdom is seeking to know the will of God, learning it, and then governing actions by it (17.27).

Adam and Eve best demonstrate this principle of valuing rightly by turning their relationship with the garden and with God into a poem. As Adam and Eve go into their

divinely/artfully/naturally decorated bower, they pause again to acknowledge the end of their day in poetry. They declare themselves to be "happy in our mutual help/And mutual love" and demonstrate their appreciation for the other relationships in which they participate--with the garden and with God, the "Maker Omnipotent." The garden is their place of work, but not only theirs; it is large and there is more in its abundance than they need. They conclude by meditating upon God: "Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,/And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep" (4.734,735). These words, which they "said unanimous," are their worship, not through structured rites, but through the process of words and love, "adoration pure/Which God likes best" (4.737,738). As the best wisdom is knowledge of God, the best poetry is adoration.

The Seventh Prolusion, "Learning Makes Men Happier than does Ignorance," written when Milton was a graduate student about to receive his Master of Arts degree (Hartmann 3), reveals an interesting development in Milton's thinking on wisdom and happiness when it is compared with Paradise Lost. The prolusion is Milton's finest and shows the influence of Plato's Symposium, Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics, Cicero's Pro Archia Poeta, and Bacon's Advancement of Learning (Hartmann 8). E.M.W. Tillyard finds in it evidence of "the vast ambitions that had possessed Milton and. . .his intention to promote them by acquiring an equipment of almost universal knowledge" (xxxiii). Whether or not the Seventh Prolusion should be read so autobiographically, for our purposes it demonstrates Milton's awareness of those who associated wisdom and happiness and his own concern with the subject:

> Therefore nothing can rightly be considered as contributing to our happiness unless it somehow looks both to that everlasting life as well as to our life as citizens of this world. Contemplation is by almost universal consent the only means whereby the mind can set itself free from the support of the body and concentrate its powers for the unbelievable delight of participating in the life of the immortal gods. Yet without learning, the mind is quite sterile and unhappy, and amounts to nothing. (623)

In Paradise Lost, as we have seen, Milton is not so eager to set the mind free from the body. In the prolusion, he also sanctions questing after knowledge in a way that his later work would reject:

> . . .So the man who knows nothing of the liberal arts seems to be cut off from all access to the happy life--unless God's supreme desire was that we should struggle to the heights of knowledge of those things for which he has planted such a burning passion in our minds at birth. He would seem to have acted vainly or malevolently in giving us a spirit capable and insatiably curious of this high wisdom. (623)

Since God would do nothing in vain, he concludes that if people desire to know, God must want people to seek knowledge of him: "if learning is our leader and director in our quest for happiness, and if it has the approval of the Almighty and contributes to his praise, it surely cannot fail to make its followers happy in the very noblest way" (623). In Paradise Lost, this "battle-signal" to "hurl yourselves into the melee" (629), is tempered with a concern that contentment cannot be found in knowledge alone, that love of other people and of God are just as important. The older Milton seems to have redefined wisdom to provide for the contentment which ceaseless striving can only fail to provide.

As Milton demonstrates in the Seventh Prolusion, relating happiness and wisdom had its own tradition. Aristotle, for example, wrote in Nichomachean Ethics:

> Now, if happiness is activity in conformity with virtue, it is to be expected that it should conform with the highest virtue, and that is the virtue of the best part of us. Whether this is intelligence or something else which, it is thought, by its very nature rules and guides us and which gives us our notions of what is noble and divine; whether it is itself divine or the most divine thing in us; it is the activity of this part (when operating) in conformity with the excellence or virtue proper to it that will be complete happiness. That it is an activity concerned with theoretical knowledge or contemplation has already been stated. (10.7)

Pleasure is a necessary ingredient of happiness, and of all activities that conform with virtue, wisdom (or philosophy) is the most pleasant; therefore, wisdom offers the greatest

happiness. Aristotle concludes: "the activity of our intelligence constitutes the complete happiness of man, provided that it encompasses a complete span of life; for nothing connected with happiness must be incomplete" (10.7). Thomas Aquinas, agreeing with Augustine's statement that "contemplation is promised us as the goal of our actions and the everlasting fulfilment of our joys," argues that the activity of the speculative intellect is the most happy for three reasons. The first is that it is man's highest activity the object of which is the divine good, and happiness is in contemplation of things divine. Secondly, the activity of the speculative intellect is happy because contemplation, like happiness, is sought for itself, and thirdly: "in the contemplative life man has something in common with higher beings, with God and the angels" (Q.3.art.6).

The happiness in wisdom demonstrated in Paradise Lost is not so strictly intellectual, however. I think that intellect and happiness are related in a manner more like that of Augustine, who writes in The Happy Life that, "'to be happy' means nothing else than 'not to be in want,' that is, 'to be wise.'" (81). Wisdom is, in this view, "the measure of the soul, that is, that through which the soul keeps its equilibrium so that it neither runs over into too much nor remains short of its fullness" (81). The soul finds the happy life by knowing God who is the supreme measure and by knowing truth that has received its being through him. In Paradise Regained, Jesus offers a commentary on Aristotle: "he who receives/Light from above, from the fountain of light,/No other doctrine needs, though granted true" (4.288-290). He dismisses those who, "in virtue plac'd felicity,/But virtue join'd with riches and long life" (4.297,298). In Eden, where virtue is joined with the riches of nature and the long life of immortality, there is no division between practical and speculative intellect. Thomas Traherne best defines wisdom for our purposes when he says it is "a knowledge exercised in finding out the way to perfect happiness, by discerning man's real wants and sovreign desires" whereby we come to know God who has implanted such faculties and inclinations in us (Centuries 3.42). Wisdom is not so much the knowing of many things, but knowing what one needs to know to be content. What one needs to know to be content is the relationships of love at work in the cosmos--between people and among humans and God and nature. Marriage was happy because it was a relationship of desire filled by love; wisdom is happy

because it is a balance between the divine motions of love and the human activity of the temperate will. The desire to know is met with knowledge of interactions of love, and so, as with marriage, desire is brought to rest.

Eve demonstrated in marriage the principle for happiness in relating herself to another; she provides the same positive example for the happiness of wisdom. Eve might be called the wiser of the two in that she does not wish to possess knowledge beyond that which lies before her. She says her happiest knowledge is to know Adam: "God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more/Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise" (4.637,638). She leaves the luncheon to work among her flowers after she hears of the war in Heaven and the creation of the world, preferring to ask Adam about what Raphael will have said: "hee, she knew, would intermix/Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute/With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip/Not Words alone pleas'd her (8.54-57). Milton says in Christian Doctrine that when God "infused the breath of life into man" he (or she) received "that measure of the divine virtue or influence, which was commensurate to the capabilities of the recipient" (15.39). Such an affirmation of Eve could be the result of a view that the female mind may "well contain" less knowledge of the world around, or that less knowledge is "commensurate to the capabilities of the recipient." But then happiness is not for the scintillating and expansive intellect holding masses of information. Eve best demonstrates Milton's principle of happiness--inward temperance and remembering the relationships of which one is a part as measures to determine what knowledge is necessary, useful, and fruitful. Milton says in Christian Doctrine: "obedience and love are always the best guides to knowledge" (14.25). As Eve likes her information mixed with kisses, both Adam and Eve should keep their love for their world, each other, and God before them as a guide in what they seek to know.

The third, and most important relationship in which happiness is found, is that between human and God--the source from which the other relationships are filled. In the poem, marriage is the appropriate relationship of humans to each other and to God; wisdom is the appropriate relation of the individual to the world and to God, and obedience is the proper relation to God alone. To blatantly understate the case, this association between God and happiness is not unique to Milton. The idea was found in

the writings of Augustine and Aquinas and every seventeenth century divine who wrote about happiness, as well as among poets like Thomas Traherne and Henry Vaughan (and will be discussed further in Chapter 3). It is also the essence of the *beatus vir* of Psalm 1, quoted in some sermons on happiness, which begins:

> Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, not standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
> But his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night.
> And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. (Psalm 1:1-3)

This is one of the Psalms that Milton paraphrased in 1653, and he too begins it with the *beatus vir*: "Bless'd is the man who hath not walk'd astray" (1). In English Psalters, incidentally, Adam and Eve were sometimes used as the motif that surrounded and decorated the initial B of this Psalm (McColley, Gust 50-52). They are the original blessed ones who have "not walk'd astray."

The relationship between God and human by which human is "blessed" is based on reciprocity, a balance between the activities of the divine and the human. In this, Milton adds his own peculiar perspective to happiness. We saw in Chapter One that happiness was a state of creation for the natural world; Adam and Eve also participate in this primal happiness. When some of Milton's contemporaries wrote about Adam and Eve's happiness, they attributed it to creation in the image of God. Samuel Crook's The Guide Unto True Blessedness asks of Adam: "What happiness had man, thus created and placed?" To which Crook answers:

> The Image of God, in wisdom and true holiness, shining in him without tainture or blemish, be enjoyed full fruition and assurance of the favourable and blissful presence of his Creator, together with absolute contentment in himself, and service from all the Creatures, to whom as their Lord, he gave their original names" (20).

Samuel Cradock expresses a similar view. He questions: "What was that happy Condition in which Man was made?" To which he replies:

> God created our first Parents Adam and Eve in an holy and happy estate, namely after his own image, in Knowledge, Holiness, and Righteousness, with dominion over the Creatures here below, writing his Law in their hearts, giving them power to perform it. And having placed them in Paradise, he gave them a particular command, that of the tree of knowledge of good and evil they should not eat; promising the continuance of them in that happy estate, if they obeyed; and threatning them with death, if they disobeyed; which is called the Covenant of Nature or Works. (n.p.).

For Cradock, prelapsarian happiness is a result of a Covenant of Works.

In Paradise Lost, God declares he has given Adam and Eve happiness: "I at first with two fair gifts/Created him endow'd, with Happiness/And Immortality" (11.57-59). They are also happy, more specifically, because they are created in God's image. The angels say they are: "Thrice happy men,/And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,/Created in his Image" (7.625-627). Not only "sons of men," but women, as well, may be God's image. Milton describes Adam and Eve together:

> Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
> Godlike erect, with native Honor clad
> In naked Majesty seem'd Lord of all,
> And worthy seem'd, for in thir looks Divine
> The image of thir glorious Maker shone,
> Truth, Wisdom, Sanctitude severe and pure,
> Severe, but in true filial freedom plac't. (4.288-294)

This endowed happiness, in image and gift, is essential to Eve and Adam's Edenic happiness.

Hugh MacCallum writes of the "true filial freedom" of our prelapsarian Adam: "Grace activates his nature,. . .and [his] habitual sanctity springs directly from God's love for his image, a love which enables man to enjoy the filial freedom of a Son" (121). William Shullenberger explains further: "To be identified as 'Son of God' is not to be male-identified, but to be God-identified, to stand in a certain creative and reflective

relation of creature to Creator, wherein one chooses to live in relation to others motivated by love, compassion, and grace" (73). Milton's contemporary Robert Harris writes of the idea of "Sonship" in much the same way:

> This terme stands in a threefold relation:
> First, to Christ in peculiar; for he, and onely he, is the naturall Son of God by eternall generation.
> Secondly, to all creatures who, in some sense, have God for their Father; namely in respect of creation, and conservation.
> Thirdly, to Christians, to the Saints in a speciall manner, by the grace of Adoption.
> . . .The point that hence we will note, shall be this,
> That it is a most blessed thing to be rightly called the child of God. (230)

In the prelapsarian world, no regeneration by adoption is necessary; there is happiness in being the "child of God," creatures in his image, as long as happiness is held by obedience.

But there's the rub. There is more to being happy in Milton's Eden than simply possessing the image of God. Happiness also requires a self-aware acknowledgment of one's own relationship to the source of happiness through obedience. Adam and Eve's first responses to their own creations express a desire to know their creator. Adam says: "how came I thus, how here?" (8.277) Although he infers "some great Maker," he does not know him directly until he sees the "Presence Divine" (8.313) and falls at his feet in adoration. Without this awareness, he can only declare himself to be "happier than I know" (8.282). Eve, too, wonders "where/And what I was, whence thither brought, and how" (4.451,452). The unidentified divine voice tells her who she is and takes her to Adam. Eve's desire to know her creator is answered by Adam who tells her of the "Power/That made us" (4.412,413). Though their questions receive different responses, Milton's God creates both Adam and Eve to be insufficient at creation, not knowing all, and possessing desire for something--to know their creator--which they do not immediately have. William Drummond wrote in "A Hymne of True Happinesse":

> No, but blest Life is this,
> With chaste and pure desire,

> To turne unto the Load-starre of all Blisse,
> On GOD the Minde to rest,
> Burnt up with sacred Fire,
> Possessing him, to bee by him possest. (61-66)

Adam and Eve desire God, even in the unfallen world, and their need is met by a voice for Eve and the divine presence for Adam. Because Adam and Eve ask these questions, happiness cannot be the result of divine motions towards an unaware Adam and Eve. The process of learning is essential in Milton's Eden; he could have had an Adam and Eve like Crook's or Cradock's who were happy because they were created in the God's image, but Milton adds an extra dimension by insisting that Adam and Eve must come to know their happiness.

There is a mutuality to the divine-human relationship in the poem. Happiness is given by God, but maintained by human activity in relating to that God. The relationship of "Sonship" between God and human is both conditional--held by obedience--and the source of all happiness. This point becomes abundantly clear in the poem. Raphael demonstrates with a personal example the happiness and reciprocity of the relationship: "Myself and all th' Angelic Host that stand/In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state/Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds" (5.535-537). Abdiel also relates obedience and happiness when he stands against Satan:

> Yet by experience taught we know how good,
> And of our good, and of our dignity
> How provident he is, how far from thought
> To make us less, bent rather to exalt
> Our happy state under one Head more near
> United. (5.826-831)

When Raphael tells Adam and Eve of the begetting of the Son, we hear God declaring the presence of both obedience and happiness in the Godhead. Father and Son are "United as one individual Soul/For ever happy" (5.610,611), and to be obeyed as such. But the Son, subordinate in Milton's theology, is also obedient to the Father. When the Son announces his intention to put down the heavenly rebellion, he declares his relationship to the Father, "Whom to obey is happiness entire" (6.741). Within this boundary of obedience, Milton suggests that there is greater happiness for all concerned--

Son, angel, human. For Milton, obedience is not an oppressive requirement of a tyrannical God, but a boundary chosen by the ego, a humble inner acknowledgement of difference from one greater.

By making obedience a discipline that transcends Adam and Eve, Milton allows the command not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge appear less arbitrary than it might otherwise seem. In Christian Doctrine, he wrote of Adam: ". . .God having placed him in the garden of Eden, and furnished him with whatever was calculated to make life happy, commanded him, as a test of his obedience, to refrain from eating of the single tree of knowledge of good and evil." Such a test was necessary, he argues, "in order that man's obedience might be thereby manifested" (15.114,115). That is, God created man good and placed him in a garden where virtue could not be demonstrated by performance of works which he did by natural impulse. So without the Tree of Knowledge, there would have been no way for man to show his affection, an inward state, for God. Adam does not live under a "covenant of works" but "Adam, like the regenerate, enjoys the liberty to fulfil the inward law through love" (MacCallum, Sons 126). Obedience is the action by which the inward state of love is made visible, as in John 14:15: "If ye love me, keep my commandments." Obedience is, as God says in Book 3, the active demonstration of freedom and of love:

> Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
> Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,
> Where only what they needs must do, appear'd,
> Not what they would? what praise could they receive?
> What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
> When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)
> Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
> Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,
> Not mee. (3.103-111)

In this approach, human beings are affirmed by their ability to choose. By choosing to obey they can demonstrate their love for God and return to him a gift that he appreciates. Dennis Danielson calls this Milton's "soul-making theology," a view that begins with the assumption that "man, more than a means to some end, is in some sense an end in himself" (168). The command has less to do with its outward manifestation in fruit-

eating habits than its inward state--love of a God who is a separate entity from self. Again, happiness is a balancing act. On one side, there is identifying with God as his image, and on the other is respecting the difference from God who is greater and the giver of the gift.

As for the garden wall, inner boundaries are essential to Milton's idea of happiness because they are constructed on the cornerstone of Miltonic thought--Christian liberty. As Milton's human creatures are happy in obedience, they are also given liberty. Northrop Frye says of the reciprocity in the fallen world:

> Liberty for Milton is not something that starts with man: it starts with God. It is not something that man naturally wants for himself, but something that God is determined he shall have; man cannot want it unless he is in a regenerate state, prepared to accept the inner discipline and responsibility that go with it. (85)

Adam and Eve, not yet degenerate, experience liberty in their natural state as long as they accept the inner discipline and responsibility of obedience. As much as happiness is a result of boundaries of ego and experience, happiness is unbounded. The self-disciplined are allowed limitless enjoyment of the possibilities of pleasure and freedom that the world around them offers, and as we saw in Chapter One, the world offers a great deal.

This experience of happiness as liberty is expressed in the poetry of Adam and Eve. At the beginning of Book 5, Adam and Eve rise from sleep and dream, to hasten off to work. Before they leave the door of their bower, they pause to see the Sun "Discovering in wide Lantskip all the East/Of Paradise and *Eden's* happy Plains" (5.142,143). They "bow'd adoring" and begin their morning orisons, as they did each morning with variety, "in fit strains pronounct or sung/Unmeditated" (5.148,149). According to Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, the verse which they offer encompasses many kinds of hymns: "classical narrative or literary hymns in 'proselike' hexameters; chanted biblical psalms with their patterns of rhythmic repetition; classical lyric hymns (choral and monodic) used in public worship; and Christian hymns and anthems both liturgical and vernacular" (Rhetoric 203). And all this unpremeditated, by two poets composing

in unison. Their praise poem demonstrates the principle of freedom within structure in its form and in its subject matter. The "universal Frame" is God's, the "Parent of good" (5.153,154), but the lower works, angels, creatures, stars, sun, and moon, can offer from their freedom of "ceaseless change. . .to our great Maker still new praise" (5.182,183). The mists rise "in honor to the World's great Author;" the plants "in sign of Worship wave." The birds ascend to heaven and sing, and the fountains, as they flow, "Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise." In it all, creation is expressing its freedom, to move and live, within the stillness of the "universal frame" to which they offer praise.

As Eve provided a visible example of one happy in marriage and in wisdom, she also models being happy in obedience. The obedience is directed toward Adam, rather than God, who is the prime source of all happiness. She says to him:

> My Author and Disposer, what thou bidd'st
> Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains,
> God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more
> Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise. (4.635-638)

Eve must obey God, as Adam does, for they have the same responsibility not to eat of the tree. Although these lines show Eve subordinating her spiritual life to Adam, thus putting her relationship to the divine in a mediated position, they also show a person happy in obedience. From one perspective this is a woman adopting the Milton/God/Adam voice of patriarchy--a further episode in Christine Froula's "conversion of Eve to orthodoxy"(154)--but it is also something else. Eve's obedience is not due to the outward command of Adam, but to her own inner discipline as she has internalized what "God ordains" and makes her own choice of obedience. Milton's "orthodoxy" is not in outward conformity to any external power, but only in the conscience of the individual. Froula is mistaken in implying that Milton's is a voice of "Orthodoxy." The truly important place of power in Milton's view, even in the unfallen world, is the individual, and the powerful action is love. This view is resistant, even antithetical, to the imposition of voices of authority from the outside. The position which Eve adopts towards Adam is exactly the proper relation of Adam to God in which there

is both liberty and happiness. For the reader (male?), Eve provides a readily accessible moral lesson of this divine-human relationship; Adam is never so explicit in his obedience nor so verbal in his happiness.

Satan perverts Milton's Christian liberty to its meanest use, and as a result he is neither free nor happy. Raphael warns Adam and Eve of Satan's desire to "seduce/Thee also from obedience, that with him/Bereav'd of happiness thou mayst partake/His punishment, Eternal misery" (6.901-904). Instead of having happiness grow in a relationship as fruit, Satan possesses the death of happiness--misery. Milton allows no state of tolerable peace or mediocre joy; there is happiness and there is woe. Milton's demarcation is like that made by Augustine: ". . .there is only one Good which will bring happiness to a rational or intellectual creature; and that Good is God.. . .In attaining this Good they find their happiness; in losing it they are sunk in misery" (City 12.1). Satan can only remember Heaven: "I had stood/Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd/Ambition" (4.59-61). Satan knows he is no longer happy, but his redefinition of obedience as servitude has made it impossible for him to value the boundaries which are the beginning of bliss. Satan wilfully refuses to acknowledge his difference from his creator, as he claims that he is "self-begot, self-rais'd/By our own quick'ning power" (5.860,861). Marshall Grossman argues: "Because Satan can only conceive of reality in his own image, he projects himself onto God and makes of God a stronger Satan, whom he invests with 'the Tyranny of Heav'n' (1.124). He cannot sue for grace because, lacking it himself, he assumes that the 'tyrant' God must lack it as well" (33). Satan is the embodiment of Milton's self-enthraled slave, one of those who "license they mean when they cry liberty" (Sonnet XII). Abdiel announces Milton's view:

> This is servitude,
> To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
> Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
> Thyself not free, but to thyself enthrall'd. (6.178-181)

Satan with his "unbounded hope" does not choose any inner boundaries and so projects his unhappy self onto the world. When the subjective state is antagonistic towards God, the perspective on the world around is distorted. When there is harmony between God

and the viewer, the perspective afforded is the objective, or "True" perspective of God and so there is happiness by participation. Satan's self-enthralment is a precursor to his unhappiness.

Ultimately, there is happiness in obedience because Milton's characters are allowed the liberty of the self-disciplined. Hugh MacCallum writes of Milton's presentation of Satan as a diseased self: "His rejection of God entails the loss of contact with external reality and a consequent regression into solipsism and paranoia. In rejecting his Sonship, he loses his freedom; the revolt against dependence leads to servitude" (Sons 142). So it is with happiness. Happiness is not a thing found in the self but in a relationship with something outside of the self--with other people and with the world around, but most of all with God. Perhaps, then, it is not so much that God punishes Satan by removing happiness, but that the act of disobedience, of expanding the ego and compressing the space between God and human, destroys happiness. Others who wrote about happiness made God happiness itself. Milton, however, never suggests that God is happiness in his essence, (as, for example, Thomas Aquinas and Augustine did). Rather, happiness is for those who are in relationship with God. In prelapsarian Eden, this interaction is direct, natural, and a quality of daily life, but still requires vigorous human effort.

Of utmost importance in all of these interactions is self-knowledge as the means by which one is able to maintain relationships with others; only by knowing the self is it possible to identify the qualities of identity and difference which form the basis for flourishing relationships, and thus of happiness. When God commissions Raphael to take his "sociable spirit" to the newly created world, he tells Raphael:

> and such discourse bring on,
> As may advise him of his happy state,
> Happiness in his power left free to will,
> Left to his own free Will, his Will though free,
> Yet mutable. (5.233-237)

The purpose of Raphael's visit is to make Adam and Eve aware that they are happy and that remaining so is their choice. Knowing that one is happy requires self-knowledge. This knowledge does not come in separating the self from society, but through the

relationships in which one participates, especially with God. Calvin begins Institutes of Christian Religion by saying: "Our wisdom, in so far as it ought to be deemed true and solid wisdom, consists almost entirely in two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves" (1.1). Calvin's understanding of self-knowledge in the postlapsarian world is that of the "consciousness of his own unhappiness," and the recognition that God is none of the things man is, but rather is perfection, wisdom, and virtue. This is a discussion of the unfallen world, as yet unblemished by "original sin," but self-knowledge is, nevertheless, essential to Milton. MacCallum defines Milton's position in relation to Calvin:

> Knowledge of God, however, requires self-knowledge, and man's development is thus directed towards establishing a true sense of his identity. Baldly stated, progress depends upon the discrimination and right evaluation of three things: the 'I' or self as centre of impulse, feeling and thought; God, as the source of life and reason; and nature, or the 'other' (including other selves), that which is ne[i]ther God nor self but contains expressions of both. These aspects of the quest are related in a way that is complementary, even dialectical. The self achieves recognition of its limits, and wholeness through an understanding of the harmonies that link it to that which is external to it. (Sons 111)

I would say that MacCallum should have identified four things by dividing the 'other' of other selves and nature into significantly different relationships in which the self engages--but the idea stands. The happiness of marriage, of wisdom, and of obedience will fall into misery if there is not the right evaluation of the self.

Raphael teaches Adam and Eve about themselves and their happiness. He relates the angel's heavenly song, sung from the midst of a cloud of incense and accompanied by a symphony of harps, organ, and dulcimers. They say of this new-born man in the luscious garden:

> Thrice happy men,
> And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,
> Created in his Image, there to dwell
> And worship him, and in reward to rule
> Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air,

> And multiply a Race of Worshippers
> Holy and just: thrice happy if they know
> Thir happiness, and persevere upright. (7.625-632)

Adam and Eve hear that they are created in the image of God to dwell with him and worship him, and then to rule and multiply. The angels conclude on the importance of knowing their happiness, persevering, and obeying.

In Dennis Danielson's view, Milton's proposition that Adam and Eve know their happiness provides a contrast with the happiness of the happy husbandman of Virgil's Second Georgic, which he translates: "O happy husbandman! too happy should they come to know their blessings!" (200). But in his edition, Merritt Hughes cites a translation by Dryden that begins: "O, happy, if he knew his happy state." Abraham Cowley, in his translation appended to his "Of Agriculture" essay has it: "Oh happy, (if his Happiness he knows)" (154). Whatever the translation of "*O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint*," it remains that Virgil's happy farmer finds an "easy sustenance" away from the discord of war, while Milton's happy gardeners are to rule, worship, and multiply--busily, socially, and with self-awareness. These lines associate Milton with the tradition of the happy man, which as defined by Røstvig, is formed by the poet's relation of his work to Virgil. But Milton's view of happiness is also different because it is more religious and more active.

"Thrice happy" was a common expression in works describing happiness, though thrice seems to indicate a superlative happiness more than any triplicate of particular qualities. The same Cowley translation of the Second Georgic has the line "Happy the Man, I grant, thrice happy he/Who can through gross effects their causes see" (155). William Drummond uses the phrase in his poem "The Praise of a Solitarie Life," which begins:

> Thrice happie hee, who by some shadie Grove,
> Farre from the clamorous World, doth live his owne,
> Though solitarie, who is not alone,
> But doth converse with that Eternall Love. (1-4)

Drummond's thrice happiness is in retreat from the world into a conversation with God. According to Danielson, Milton's happy person is more like Spenser's Guyon--also the

"thrice happy man" and Milton's example in Areopagitica of the true warfaring Christian (199,200). The happiness of Adam and Eve is active and it is very much a quality of relationships. Living and worshipping relates them to God, ruling to their world and multiplying to each other and their descendants. Their "thrice happiness" is no less dependent on communion with the divine than Drummond's, but it requires greater self-awareness. Being happy requires knowing one's own happiness, self-knowledge, and awareness of an inner state as much as the world around. Adam, we remember, has said: "Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,/From whom I have that thus I move and live,/And feel that I am happier than I know" (8.280-282). As he does not know God, he cannot know himself or his happiness. In the divine revelation offered by Raphael, Adam and Eve come to know more of their creator and themselves, and thus more of their happiness. Even in Milton's Eden, the Golden Age of perfection, happiness is not simply presented to them in a box with a giant red bow. Not found in retreat or solitude, it is most truly experienced when it is sought, and then found by self-knowledge and interaction with the world around.

Marriage is also a relationship in which self-knowledge develops. Marshall Grossman writes: "Providence encourages the development of a self that realizes its integrity only by participating with another in the creation of images, which are themselves possessed of 'substantial life.' Adam and Eve thus realize themselves when they join to reembody the substance God extended to Adam" (88). According to Grossman, a substantial other in a reflecting gaze is essential to self-knowledge, i.e. neither Eve's watery image nor Satan's solipsism which allows no reflection. At the end of his discourse, Raphael tells Adam that "Oft-times nothing profits more/Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right/Well manag'd" (8.571-573). For Adam, this means not subjecting his reason, his inwardness, to the outward beauty of Eve. Love, an engagement with another, is the proper means to self-knowledge and self-esteem:

> Love refines
> The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat
> In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
> By which to heav'nly Love thou mayst ascend. (8.589-592)

Or, as Hugh MacCallum paraphrases: "True love is a process of self-discovery, not self-abandonment; it reinforces reason and will, making outward shows give way to inward spiritual realities" (Sons 149). Milton's self-knowledge is not gained by introspection but by relating one's self to the world around, in an awareness of one's relation to the cosmos, to God, and other people.

That self-awareness is essential even in Eden is an important aspect of the similarities between the unfallen and fallen worlds. James Grantham Turner writes:

> In most Christian thought the fact of 'fallenness' is the supreme determinant of the human condition, and rules such as temperance and chastity are considered the moral equivalent of clothing, the arts of fallen necessity. But by endowing Adam and Eve with the same ethical and psychological situation as ourselves, and even making their freedom depend on strenuous experiential choice, Milton effectively promotes the law of temperance over the fallen/unfallen division. (179,180)

I would say that "strenuous experiential choice" is a part of Milton's insistence on the freedom of the human will and the importance of choosing rightly. Choosing in freedom is more than temperance; it is also an act of remembering relationships of love. Whether in Eden, or outside as we shall see in the chapter that follows, the ethical requirements of happiness are the same--self-knowledge, obedience and love of God, and relationships of love with the world around. Perhaps then, Milton is suggesting that through action it is possible to regain something of the happiness of Eden in the choices of the individual, though social happiness is lost with Paradise.

Milton's self-knowing happy person might be usefully contrasted with that of Joseph Hall, a bishop upon whom Milton heaped scorn in Animadversions (Parker 206-208). In Hall's Characterismes of Vertues, the happy man is one that "hath learn'd to read himselfe more than all books; and hath so taken out this lesson, that he can never forget it" (164). In this view, self-knowledge is congruent to removal of the mind from the world's events, especially that which could make him unhappy: "contentment lies not in the things he hath, but in the mind that values them" and can therefore make "his cottage a Mannor, or a Palace" (165). Hall's contentment resembles Satan's plan to

make a heaven of hell more than Adam and Eve's confrontational and dialogic relationship with their world. They are creative poets, productive artists, and servant gardeners. They meet each other in marriage, and God through worship and learning--all occasions for poetry. Satan, on the other hand, finds no happiness in interacting with the happy place of Eden and is unable to create, only to destroy. Before he begins the temptation of Eve, he pauses for a moment of introspection. He acknowledges that he could have delighted in walking with "sweet interchange" in the hills, valleys, rivers, woods, and plains of the garden, but he cannot:

> I in none of these
> Find place or refuge; and the more I see
> Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
> Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
> Of contraries; all good to me becomes
> Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my state.(9.118-123)

The more Satan refuses to acknowledge his difference from God as a boundary on his ego, the more he can only be unhappy. He cannot find pleasure in the most pleasant environment because his inward state, where liberty starts, is "self-enthrall'd." He is tormented by desire for pleasure that is contrary to his chosen path of stoic acceptance of Hell. He can be neither happy nor creative in connectedness to the world around and his only pleasure, such as it is, is in ruining the happiness of those who are happy: "For only in destroying I find ease/To my relentless thought" (9.129,130). Unlike Adam and Eve who can choose to find contentment, Satan's choices take him further from it.

The separation scene that precedes Satan's successful temptation can be read as a dialogue about happiness and as a demonstration of the happy life in action. When Eve proposes that they garden apart, Adam reminds her of the one who "Envying our happiness, and of his own/Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame/By sly assault" (9.254-256). Satan, says Adam, may attack either their "fealty from God" or their "conjugal love," as both are possessions to be envied; both contribute to their happiness. Adam consistently stresses to Eve the relational aspects of their happiness. He reminds her of their bliss with God and with each other, and he tells her of his own need for her, the "access in every virtue" (9.310) that Eve's look provides. Eve, for her part,

accentuates individuation and insists on her own sufficiency as she recalls to Adam the time she has spent gardening on her own. She asks, "How are we happy, still in fear of harm?" (9.326). Were she to stay with Adam, Eve suggests, it would be an act of cowardice incompatible with happiness. We might then question if it is permissible that Eve wish to garden away from Adam. But to ask the question is to misunderstand the liberty in which Adam and Eve live. They are permitted everything but the fruit of the tree, and the fulfilment of the command not to eat is as much an act of love of God as it is of divine forbidding. Whether or not Eve tends toward sin in her desire depends only upon her inward state, not on her action since all things, but one, are permitted. Eve does not dismiss love by choosing to garden alone. Thus, I think Eve is touching, but still acknowledging, the boundaries of Milton's happy state in choosing individuation over relationship in the present.

She argues that they can be happy--obedient, wise, and loving--together and apart:

> Let us not then suspect our happy State
> Left so imperfet by the Maker wise,
> As not secure to single or combin'd.
> Frail is our happiness, if this be so,
> And *Eden* were no *Eden* thus expos'd. (9.337-341)

Marshall Grossman argues that the scene is set in the long tradition of the emasculation of Hercules adapted by Tasso and Spenser. That is, the expected male and female roles are reversed as Adam argues from "mundane experience" and Eve "brings to bear an interpretation of free will in relation to 'collateral love'" (142). The crux of Grossman's argument is that Adam and Eve are exhibiting qualities of their fallenness in the separation scene, that the scene can be read in retrospect "as an iteration of the struggle of wills it is their misfortune to begin" (143). Eve, he might argue, is overstepping the boundaries of her femaleness, while Adam is abandoning the expectations of his maleness. Grossman does qualify such a conclusion by saying that "Milton's use of the commonplaces of Renaissance misogyny is never simple, nor is his Eve ever simple-minded" (142).

I think, however, that Milton's marriage relationship is not so static as all that, for their relationship is a process and a creative interaction rather than a prescription of roles. Furthermore, it is not fitting to read fallen possibilities into unfallen events. They are "yet sinless" and as Barbara Kiefer Lewalski has argued, the state of innocence does not preclude the possibility of growing in knowledge and experience to become more aware, as Eve does, of larger responsibilities ("Innocence" 116). Diane McColley, for her part, attributes a high degree of "rightness" to Eve's arguments:

> In the separation colloquy it is Eve's adherence to principles very like Milton's own that moves her to decline to let Satan's threat interfere with their liberties and the pursuit of their callings; it is Adam's respect for open dialogue and his sense of true relation, needing freedom that move him to accede to her wish. ("Milton and the sexes" 157)

Hugh MacCallum, conversely, finds a fault in Eve's reasoning: "Happiness does not depend upon being self-sufficient, as Eve implies it does. Further, her wish to prove her inner freedom by single trial is involved in a corrosive and subtle contradiction, for it attributes to Adam's presence a compulsive force that threatens her individuality" (Sons 155).

I would add that, although happiness is found in relationship to others, it is ultimately a psychic state in which the individual responsibility for self-knowledge is the most important. The relationship of self to other is not in the physicality of the "answering look," that is in vision, but in the significance of the metaphor--the love that can only grow in the relational space between the self and responding other. The relation of love contributes to the development of self--the thoughts, the heart, the reason are improved. Love is not a relation dependent on physical distance, but rather a rational and emotional connection, an inward assent to another. This is what Adam acknowledges when he bids Eve farewell: "Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more" (9.372). Parting in Paradise Lost is not a dismissal of relationship; Raphael, for example, is not a constant presence in the garden, but a visitor who they hope will

return. When Raphael rises from their table to return to Heaven, they part with a formal grace:

> Go heavenly Guest, Ethereal Messenger,
> Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore.
> Gentle to me and affable hath been
> Thy condescension, and shall be honor'd ever
> With grateful Memory: thou to mankind
> Be good and friendly still, and oft return. (8.646-651)

Parting provides the occasion for the expression of the quality of their meeting, which Adam does in his benediction. Only Satan, with his amity that is "strait" and "close" (4.377) and his memory that distorts what was been, can allow no parting. The most important thing is that Adam and Eve are not inwardly parting from each other--their love remains. And so, I think in many ways it is irrelevant who wins the debate, or in what ways either Adam or Eve were wrong or right in their arguments. As Hugh MacCallum argues:

> The debate is at once symptomatic and open-ended. It reveals the origins of weakness, but leaves the participants intact. It mobilizes human resources but fails to achieve a decisive resolution. The demanding nature of unfallen existence, suggestively built up by the earlier episodes, is here given its most powerful statement. (Sons 157)

To which he adds: "Fully engaged in the act of choice, they keep their freedom" (Sons 157). That is the point to bring to understanding happiness. Happiness is not a pleasant thing upset by an argument. Rather, it is an inward state in which the self-aware Adam and Eve relate to each through love, to their world through wisdom, and to their God in obedience. None of these things are upset by disagreement or by distance. Unfallen existence is both happy and demanding; the two are not antithetical as long as love is at their heart.

In the dialogue of the separation scene, Milton is arming Eve for the encounter he must place her in. Because his concern is to "justify the ways of God to man," the fall which results cannot reflect poorly on the beneficence of God. Eve, therefore, must be capable of facing the encounter. If this were not so, God would surely be implicated

in the fall for the mistake of creating one so naturally defective as Woman. Eve's conclusions in the dialogue are not always correct (in Milton's Eden, wrong answers are no crime), but Adam corrects her mistakes. When Eve assumes incorrectly the security of the outward Eden, "*Eden* were no *Eden* thus expos'd" (9.341), Adam remedies her error by resituating the focus on the inward state. Eden is exposed, but it cannot be lost without the taking of the inward state. God made nothing deficient, Adam reminds her, and left out nothing that "might his happy State secure,/Secure from outward force" (9.347,348). The danger is not external, but inward in the possibility of the failure of the rectitude of the will: "within himself/The danger lies, yet lies within his power:/Against his will he can receive no harm" (9.348-350). This said, Eve can be the warfaring Christian. She possesses the knowledge of her happiness and how to maintain it.

It is at this point in the poem that Milton introduces the reader to the gardening tools which, though not previously mentioned, Adam and Eve have presumably been using. The narrator says of Eve: "Though not as shee with Bow and Quiver arm'd/But with such Gard'ning Tools as Art yet rude,/Guiltless of fire had form'd, or Angels brought" (9.390-392). She is like Ovid's Pomona with her curved pruning hook, devotion to gardening, and resistance to the advances of Vertumnus (Met.14.627ff). She is also like "*Ceres* in her Prime" (9.395), of whom Ovid says:

> Ceres was the first
> To part the clay with plowshare; Ceres first
> Gave men the gift of corn and the good harvest;
> She first gave laws. We owe all things to Ceres. (Met.5.341-344)

Diane McColley, in her study of Milton and the visual arts, notes the appearance in a thirteenth-century English Psalter of a depiction of an angel transferring a distaff and spade to a clothed Eve and Adam, already fallen. In Milton's relocation of the gardening tools to the prelapsarian world, McColley sees Milton making work originally innocent (Gust 51). All of these indicate a view of Eve who is both virtuous and "sufficient to stand."

It is also significant to note that Milton mentions the tools just at this point in the poem, only in conjunction with Eve, and then just as Eve departs to face a critical choice. Eve the servant gardener, rather than the Greek goddess, I would suggest, possesses the sufficiency that is traditionally characteristic of the "happy man." Her gardening tools are formed without fire which is a characteristic of Hell in the unfallen world, and at best, a thing of good and evil possibilities--tools and weapons of war--in the fallen (11.570-573). With the word "or" Milton offers an alternative for the appearance of the tools in the garden; the garden implements may also have been an angelic gift. Either way, Eve's tools are an indication of her relationship both to the God who may have given them to her and to the garden which may have been gently yielding of garden implements. In George Wither's Emblemes of 1635, there are four emblems that employ shovels in their imagery (5,93,141,239). In each one, the spade stands for virtuous labour. Two are particularly interesting in their combination of a snake, a spade, and a wreath--all intimately associated with Milton's Eve. One of these, Emblem 5, concludes:

> For, by the Spade, is Labour here implide;
> The Snake, a vertuous Prudence, doth expresse;
> And, Glorie, by the Wreath is Typifide.
> For, where a vertuous Industry is found,
> She, shall with Wreaths of Glory, thus be crown'd.

There are possibilities open to Eve. The snake could have been a demonstration of her prudence in resisting temptation and Adam, in her absence, prepares a wreath expecting to crown her "Harvest Queen" (9.842). Before her departure, Milton depicts an Eve who is cognizant of her happiness and sufficient to stand though free to fall. The moment in which the reader, with Adam who "Her long and ardent look his Eye pursu'd/Delighted," watches Eve as the *beata mulier* is brief and is deliberately ended by the narrator who imposes the perspective of one who knows Eve's choice: "O much deceiv'd, much failing, hapless *Eve*,/Of thy presum'd return! event perverse!" (9.404,405). The "failing, hapless Eve" is not the only Eve, however. Diane McColley writes of Milton: "He was probably more serious about the relations of the sexes, more careful of their resonances, than any poet of or before his time, and of the happiness and

holiness not only of a *Beatus vir* (Ps. 1 and 112), but also of a *Beata mulier*, a woman joyous in plenteous gift, perhaps than any other poet of any time" ("Milton and the sexes" 164). Though McColley is perhaps overenthusiastic in saying "of any time," when we approach the statement by way of happiness rather than the arts of Eden as she does, we arrive at much the same conclusion.

Life in Eden is the good life. It is a world where good has not yet been perverted to bad, where happiness grows naturally as the fruit of relationships in which one is involved, where poetry becomes the crown on one's existence, and where it is Eve who often best demonstrates the attributes of happiness. Happiness is, above all, a result of the activity of relating. The self-sufficiency and self-knowledge of happiness are found first of all in marriage where desire and fulfilment are each in perfect measure and the will remains free. As they relate themselves to their world, they learn that by the inner discipline of temperance they can have the wisdom of "knowledge within bounds" and contentment with the present. The relationship with God is the root of all the others but is organized along the same principles of balance between the activity of the human will and the gifts of God. In the end, self-knowledge becomes the final arbiter of happiness, the relationship with the self by which all other relations are maintained; without self-knowledge it is impossible to recognize the points either of identity with or of difference from others. Without differentiation the space across which relationships cross collapses, and without identity there is no connection. Happiness is for the responsible adult rather than the innocent child, and can be contrasted with Henry Vaughan's "The Retreate" which begins: "Happy those early dayes! when I/Shin'd in my Angell-infancy." For Milton, the happiness of the early days of Eden was not static but in motion like a weigh scale, always progressing towards balance through the processes of learning and relating with love.

Chapter Three: "But with fear yet linkt": Happiness and History

This chapter is a discussion of Milton and the idea of happiness in the fallen world of Books 9 through 12 of Paradise Lost. To explain the tension I see in these books, I will begin this time with an illustration from real life. Writing a paper on Chaucer's Tale of Melibee brought me into contact with City of God, where Augustine offers the view that happiness is the end of living. My reading was cursory and did not investigate all the theological implications of Augustine's view (especially, I now see, the extent to which Augustine's happiness is only for an after-life), but such a positive vision of life seemed rather nice to me. In direct opposition to such a desire, however, is the feeling that a life lived to be happy can quickly turn into a pretty bubble, float off into the sky and become utterly detached from the struggle to understand what we call reality. It seems to me that this world of history in which we live is not a kind study. As I write this paper, two thousand people a day are dying of cholera in Zaire because they were forced to flee their homes in Rwanda due to a bloody ethnic conflict in which hundreds of thousands of people were murdered. How can I, I ask myself, sit here in the safe four walls of my study and watch the cars go by, with my computer, my CD player, and my hundreds of books from the university--my symbols of privilege--and write about happiness when other people are suffering so horribly? I do not know the answer to that question, but the opposing impulses in it are like those at work in the final books of Paradise Lost where the grotesque violence of history meets the individual who lives in its midst. Milton begins Book 9 by saying he must turn his "Notes to Tragic" (6) to tell what "brought in this World a world of woe" (11). Yet, the poem ends with an affirmation of the "paradise within" that is "happier far" (12.587). David Loewenstein aptly defines the conflict in the final books by asking: "how can the poet reconcile the coherence of a typological interpretation of historical events, with its implications of promise and fulfillment, with a tragic vision that so unrelentingly dramatizes the conflicts and terrors of human history" (94). Milton presents the negative vision in the scene between Adam and Eve immediately following their choice to eat and in Michael's narrative of future history. Framing this is the more positive vision of the divine perspective at the beginning of Book 11 and Michael's promise of the "paradise within"

at the end of Book 12. Milton reconciles these perspectives by turning away from the universal happiness of the unfallen world, towards an individual happiness in the fallen world. To shift focus is not to abandon history, but to continue to interact with it on different terms. This new human perspective is possible because the activity of reading allows a glimpse, through interpretation of Scripture, of the divine perspective. Happiness is the result of interpretation of the text, specifically the Bible as it is presented by Michael, by the mind able to discern good and evil, self and world.

Before we reach this end, however, we need to progress with Adam and Eve through the linear world of time in which they learn of the happy end; the process is essential to the possession. In Milton's postlapsarian world, the relationships which made happiness the pleasurable fruit of Edenic living are subject to rot. When Eve eats of the tree of knowledge, she trespasses across the boundaries of obedience and steps on the love of God and Adam for her, and her own for them. Eve's immediate response to the taste of the fruit is to adopt Satan's perspective on happiness. Instead of recognizing the divine standard that it was happier to know good by itself and evil not at all, Eve declares her preference for her new "fenceless state," where she is "Deterr'd not from achieving what might lead/To happier life, knowledge of Good and Evil" (9.696,697). When Adam eats the fruit, he also changes and so their happiness together is no longer that of relating themselves to God and to the garden. Instead of recognizing the difference in which there is space for a relationship, Adam and Eve seek to close the space and become divine. In Eve's dream, Satan tempted her by promising:

> Here, happy Creature, fair Angelic *Eve*,
> Partake thou also; happy though thou art,
> Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be:
> Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
> Thyself a Goddess, not to Earth confin'd. (5.74-78)

In the temptation scene, the same pattern of delusory happiness and hallucinogenic grandeur is enacted in reality. The narrator tells us of Adam and Eve's fallen state: "They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel/Divinity within them breeding wings/Wherewith to scorn the Earth" (9.1009-1011). Their mirth is an illusion because

it is not the "true" happiness of the engaged intellect and the loving heart; it is fancy and feeling.

When Adam and Eve imagine themselves as God, engaging in Satanic self-enthralment, they devalue their relationship with the garden--it is all difference and no identity. No longer a book from which to learn about God and another part of creation like to themselves, the garden becomes a thing to be scorned. The attitude of approach to nature is the same as that towards God. With the fall, the happy garden becomes an unfit place for unhappy people and so they must be expelled. The fit habitation for the devils was Hell, "the house of woe and pain" (6.877), but Eden was the capital seat, the enclosed place where God could walk with his creation. Eve knows the garden: "Thee Native Soil, these happy Walks and Shades,/Fit haunt of Gods" (11.270,271), but she soon learns it is no longer a fit haunt for them. Michael comes to announce their "departure from this happy place" as they are sent forth to "fitter soil" (11.262). The presence of God was known by Adam and Eve in their *locus sanctus*, but with the fall they have made themselves profane, no longer fit to be in the presence of God according to divine requirements for holiness found in Jewish and Christian texts (Lieb 135,136).

As the fallen relationship of self to God and place is destroyed, so is the relation of self to other in marriage. Eve takes the fruit to Adam, she says, so that he might "partake/Full happiness with mee" (9.818,819). She considers herself superior, thereby breaking the hierarchy in which Milton thought marriage happy, but also using the definitions of the devils for relationships. The fruit which she "ingorg'd without restraint" (9.791) becomes an occasion for a test in their relationship, a "happy trial of thy Love, which else/So eminently never had been known" (9.975,976). In Eve's fallen view, the mutual love and contentment of "wedded bliss," is changed to a trial of envious adversaries, as she moves their marriage from the bower to the courtroom. Adam, for his part, expresses his new preference for solitude, another rejection of marriage: "O might I here/In solitude live savage" (9.1084,1085). Instead of a "helpmeet," Eve becomes a serpent in Adam's view, the source of all his woe. "But for thee/I had persisted happy" (10.873,874), he petulantly argues. Though Adam's view is faulty according to his own unfallen reasoning that the danger was within, it does show the

conflict introduced into a previously harmonious relationship. Adam predicts a multitude of opportunities for future woe in marriage for men who never find their "fit Mate," who make mistakes by choosing women who love others, or loving women whose parents will not let them marry. There is also the chance that "his happiest choice too late/Shall meet, already linkt and Wedlock-bound/To a fell Adversary" (10.899-905). It is tempting to wonder if there were circumstances in Milton's own life that would induce him to write of these particular causes of woe in marriage, but I, unlike Eve, shall resist temptation to trespass. What is apparent is that a relationship that had been depicted as happy and loving in its sufficiency to all desire, is now one of discord, disrespect, and discontentment. The perfect balance between fulfilled desire and free-will, made possible by love's permeation of life, is gone and the possibilities of hate rush in to fill the vacuum.

Their prelapsarian happiness had been an experience of sufficiency, of fulfilment, and of contentment as all desires are met; their experience of what they call happiness in the fallen world is of desire unfulfilled. As for Satan, "happy" becomes an empty word. Milton turns the "full happiness" which Eve expected to experience with Adam into emptiness. Adam and Eve's take "thir fill of Love" as they couple in the flowers and sleep, but they awaken to a new degree of self-awareness; their "(j)ust confidence and native righteousness,/And honor from about them" (9.1056,1057) is no longer a part of their self-knowledge. They can only remember the substantial happiness of the past while they begin to realize that that of the present rings hollow. Adam recalls the past in accusatory tones on the "unhappy Morn" (9.1136): "we had then/Remain'd still happy, not as now, despoil'd/Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable" (9.1137-1139). In their acknowledged misery, Adam remembers that it was God who made them happy:

> O miserable of happy! is this the end
> Of this new glorious World, and mee so late
> The Glory of that Glory, who now become
> Accurst of blessed, hide me from the face
> Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
> Of happiness: (10.720-725)

Though he finally remembers the source of his happiness, the relationship with it is broken. He can no longer behold God face to face in the garden in the direct experience of the divine presence.

For Milton, the height of happiness is to behold the face of God and he makes a syntactical link between blessedness and happiness ("miserable of happy," "accurst of blessed"). In this, he is like his Christian contemporaries and predecessors. In writings about happiness by seventeenth century divines, the essence of happiness is blessedness. They found their sources in the works of Augustine and Aquinas to mention only two of their predecessors, as well as St. Jerome, Chrysostome, and Luther, among others. Samuel Crook's The Guide Unto True Blessedness from 1650 offers a good example of the conflation of blessedness and happiness. Its initial premise is to tell: "Of mans happiness, in acquaintance with God, making himself known to us in his Word written" (1); to this guide, is appended in this printing A Brief Direction to True Happiness, which begins by inquiring "How may man attain unto true blessedness?" The answer to this question is identical: "Only by acquaintance, and fellowship with God, as he offereth himself to be known of us, in his Word" (263). Though disagreeing about whether such happiness was available in the present life, their works agreed that happiness was inextricable from the relation of one's self to God. Both of these questions, the attainability of happiness in the present and the means by which humans are able to regain the presence of God, are at the heart of the "paradise within" that is "happier far" and will be discussed throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Adam's opinion that happiness was found in the presence of God is supplemented and reinforced by divine authority. Before Michael goes to Eden, there is a brief discussion in Heaven about the nature of fallen happiness. Milton presents a number of perspectives in quick succession, but all conclude that human happiness is no longer perfect. The Son urges the Father to let "Mankind" live out his days:

> Number'd, though sad, till Death, his doom (which I
> To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse)
> To better life shall yield him, where with mee
> All my redeem'd may dwell in joy and bliss,
> Made one with me as I with thee am one. (11.40-44)

The Son argues for life imperfectly happy, to be made happier in the future. The Father, "without Cloud, serene," agrees but reminds him of what has been lost:

> I at first with two fair gifts
> Created him endow'd, with Happiness
> And Immortality: that fondly lost,
> This other serv'd but to eternize woe. (11.57-60)

Milton's use of "this" and "that" to refer to happiness and immortality obscures the difference between them, as if they should have been inseparable gifts. But if we take "that" to refer to happiness (the loss of immortality would not make woe eternal, but only shorten happiness), we see that Milton is providing an interesting deviation from the promise that "in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die" (Genesis 2:17). Here happiness is lost by human choice, while immortality is taken away as a divine act of grace so that an unhappy life is not made worse; death cannot properly be called a punishment. God then gathers the angels together to inform them of his plans for humanity, though he also reminds them of what Adam and Eve have lost: "Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known/Good by itself, and Evil not at all" (11.88,89). The human choice of disobedience has brought about God's second choice for their lives--the world of Areopagitica where good can only be known by evil, and where, without the motions of God, the heart is "variable and vain/Self-left" (11.92,93).

God's plan for this new world, revealed as he commissions Michael to remove Adam and Eve from the garden, is contingent upon Adam and Eve's response. If they patiently obey Michael's bidding, Adam will hear of the "Cov'nant in the woman's seed renew'd" (11.112,116) so they can leave the garden, "though sorrowing, yet in peace" (11.117). This union of happy and sad is repeatedly affirmed as the condition of human life and should never be separated by the reader into separate components. "Happy" has a new appendage. As Adam and Eve see Michael coming and they end their orisons, they find "Strength added from above, new hope to spring/Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet linkt" (11.138,139). In prayer, they find a happiness that gives them strength but does not overwhelm their fear. Before ascending to the mountain top to begin to tell Adam of the covenant, Michael repeats the same view of mixed happiness:

> Expect to hear, supernal Grace contending
> With sinfulness of Men; thereby to learn
> True patience, and to temper joy with fear
> And pious sorrow, equally inur'd
> By moderation either state to bear,
> Prosperous or adverse. (11.359-364)

If happiness in the unfallen world was contentment, in the fallen it is contentious. The vision will be a battle of sin and Grace, and as he hears of it, Adam is to learn of "true" patience--the activity of moderation and temperance.

Clearly, the quality of the happy life has changed. Adam and Eve will no longer have perfect bliss, but happiness is not denied them. This relates Milton to Thomas Aquinas' thinking about happiness. He (like Aristotle who distinguishes between *makarios* and *eudaimon*) separates the perfect happiness only available in continued union with God, i.e. at death, from the imperfect happiness of the present made possible by the activity of the intellect (Q.3.art.2). Augustine chooses steadfastness over happiness in the present life and only allows happiness to be perfect: "it is in hope that we have been made happy; and as we do not yet possess a present salvation, but await salvation in the future, and we look forward to happiness in the future, and we look forward 'with steadfast endurance'" (City 19.4). Milton's "better fortitude of patience" must certainly link him to Augustine and his steadfastness, but in what I hope is not too uncomfortable of a conflation, there is also a present or imperfect happiness made possible by the active mind. In fact, I would suggest that throughout Milton's discussion of happiness it is almost entirely a discussion of life in the present world.

As we turn then to Michael's narrative, an important question for critics is that of its structure. Hugh MacCallum offers the opinion that the vision and narrative related by Michael conforms to Augustine's chronology of world history--the six ages of man which correspond to the six days of creation: Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to David, David to the Captivity, Captivity to Advent, and finally that which is now in progress ("Sacred History" 150,151). In Barbara Kiefer Lewalski's view, Michael's narrative is better placed against Hebrews 11 which uses the same figures of faith--Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and a summary of Joshua to Christ that is

found in Milton's epic. The prophecy then, is to "lead Adam from the 'blindness' of implicit faith to the true vision of saving faith" ("Structure" 29,30). Louis Martz dismisses such specifics by suggesting that Milton's plan is to "put Adam through a series of fearful and destructive tableaux, saying the worst that can be said of the world--and then to promise the redemption of all this at the end of Book 11 by displaying the rainbow of God's covenant." He concludes: "Theologically, the design may be said to work; poetically it is a disaster." For readers to grasp the workings of grace, he argues, they must receive as powerful a representation of the promise as they had of the sin (150,151). With the exception of this final assumption about the requirements of readers, all these arguments are sound. Yet while examining the narrative as history can contribute to an understanding of poem's conclusion at the "paradise within," it has little to say about the happiness that it specifically promises. A discussion of happiness in these books naturally seems to leap to the end where we read of the future paradise, "far happier place/Than this of *Eden*, and far happier days" (12.464,465), and of the "paradise within thee, happier far" (12.587). This tends to lead into discussions of the *felix culpa* and conclusions like those of Kathleen Swaim who compares the narratives of Raphael and Michael: "The action of Paradise Lost may be described within this shift from *sun* to *Son* as it may described in the shift from happiness to happy fall and from flower to seed" (70).

I think it is necessary for Milton to reconcile history and happiness and having a happy fall fails in this respect. It rolls the sufferings of people living in history into a cosmic ball and tosses them away in exchange for a post-historical life after death. I can only see this kind of happiness as inane, solipsistic, and irresponsible, and the "paradise within" with which it is congruent would be a cosy internal cave in which to hide. Milton's monism, however, resists such a separation of physical and spiritual life--and so we are saved from inanity. He wrote in Christian Doctrine that the "common definition" of death "which supposes it to consist in the separation of soul and body, is inadmissible" (15.217). If death is of body and spirit, then regeneration must also be of body and spirit together; as in the prelapsarian world, happiness is not a thing for the spirit alone, but the "whole man" which is "uniformly said to consist of body, spirit, and

soul" (15.219). He wrote of one of the consequences of the fall: "This death consists, first, in the loss, or at least in the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good, and in which consisted as it were the life of the understanding" (15.207). The "summum bonum" (206) for Milton is not happiness, as it was for so many others, but the life of the understanding. He quotes Ephesians 4:18 where it speaks of "having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them" (qtd. in CD 15.207). In Books 11 and 12, this "life of the understanding" is exactly that which Milton develops in his characters as a lesson to his readers. By this process, happiness as a lesser good becomes a possibility for the regenerate. Book 11 can be read as an exercise in distinguishing true happiness from false. Book 12 offers the means of attaining the *summum bonum*. Through reason the inward state is regenerated, and happiness can again grow as fruit in the lively world of the "paradise within."

Michael's narrative teaches about happiness by negative example as other treatises on happiness did. This is not so much a firm structure but a rhetorical strategy, and it answers Martz's complaint that the reader does not receive adequate opportunity to learn of grace to counteract the effect of hearing about all that evil. I would say that the reader is learning good by evil, not good by good example, and thus is developing the critical mind which is so important both to happiness and to the "paradise within." The emphasis on the reader at this point is well justified since Adam is learning to become a reader of history and an interpreter of texts. History and happiness are reconciled because only through interacting with the world of history is it possible to learn and develop the critical skills that precede the possession of the "paradise within" and its happiness.

To begin by discussing Book 11, I would suggest that there is a general form that many, though not all, discussions of happiness take; they begin with a discussion of what happiness is not--usually pleasure, wealth and honour--followed by the revelation of what happiness "really" is. Before Aristotle begins to present his own view of happiness in Nichomachean Ethics (1.7ff), he dismisses pleasure, honour, and wealth as candidates for the highest good (1.5) and argues against Plato's view of Forms as a possible

theoretical explanation for happiness (1.6). Boethius' Lady Philosophy dispels any notions about connections between fortune and happiness before she proceeds in teaching about happiness. In his question, "In What Man's Happiness Consists," Thomas Aquinas makes the pattern of dismissal and affirmation very explicit. His first article in response to the question is "Does man's happiness consist in wealth?", to which he concludes that it does not. He also asks if happiness consists in honour (2), fame or glory (3), power (4), good of the body (5), pleasure (6), good of the soul (7), or any created good (8). To all of these questions, he responds negatively, gives reasons for his rejection, and then relates that concept to happiness to move on to a more positive discussion.

To move closer to Milton's own time, commentaries on the book of Ecclesiastes also fit this mode. Renaissance interpreters of Ecclesiastes were virtually unanimous in describing it as a work whose chief subject was the true happiness or highest good of man (Lewalski Poetics 57). Barbara Kiefer Lewalski says of their hermeneutical patterns:

> There was considerable agreement also in recognizing a two-part division in Solomon's subject, reflected in the structure of the book--the discrediting of all the good (wealth, pleasure, honour, human wisdom) from which men seek happiness (the first six chapters); and then the demonstration that happiness is to be found only in the fear of God and concern with heavenly things (the last six chapters). (Poetics 57)

She offers the works on Ecclesiastes by John Serranus, John Donne, Thomas Granger and Martin Luther, as well as the Geneva Bible's description of the book as evidence. Giovanni Diodati, Genevan theologian and uncle of Milton's friend Charles Diodati, also makes this structure explicit. He wrote in his comments on Ecclesiastes that the book "doth shew wherein the summum bonum or True happiness of man doth consist." Solomon, he says, defines true happiness in two ways. First negatively: "in the sixe first Chapters, shewing wherein it doth not consist, therein confuting the vain opinions and conjectures of the Philosophers." Then affirmatively: "in the six last Chapters, shewing wherein this happinesse doth consist, therein rectifying the judgement of all that seek after it" ("Argument of Ecclesiastes"). Thomas Granger, to give another example,

expresses the view that the book contrasts between the false *summum bonum* or felicity to be found in things of the world with the true felicity revealed to Solomon by God: "The briefe summe wherof is this; Feare God, and keepe his Commandments, or in a word, faithfull obedience is the chiefe good" (3). James Young's The Way to True Happiness, organized as a series of questions and answers about the entire Bible, displays the pattern in a microcosm. For the second chapter of Ecclesiastes he asks if happiness consists in mirth, joy, banqueting, sumptuous building, gold, silver, a multitude of servants, or authority. He rejects them all as possibilities for happiness "because they are transitory and leave behind them vexation of spirit, ver.11" (34). The final question is: "What only is to be desired in the world?" To which is answered: "That spiritual joy, which is the gift of God" (34). All of these works foreground the act of critical thinking which turns one to God. "True happiness" must be recognized through the ability to differentiate--to know that happiness is not wealth, honour, power, pleasure, or whatever.

It is perfectly fitting to expect that Milton would use this dialectical way of teaching. It is basic to the reasoning of Areopagitica and Hugh MacCallum argues that: "Dialectical development is basic to the education of Adam" (Sons 201). MacCallum also argues that it was Milton's view that this was Christ's instructional technique:

> This method, along with other devices of a literary sort, makes demands on the responses of his followers, and drives them from the letter to a spiritual apprehension of the truth. Thus Christian liberty is not simply a precept of the New Testament; it is expressed in the very texture of the Gospel, in its 'drift and scope' (Sons 201,202)

I do not suggest that Book 11 is only about happiness, only that it is also about happiness and part of its plan is to reveal "true happiness" by contrasting it with "false happiness." In the pages that follow, I will show how Michael's narrative develops skills of comprehension in Adam so that he can again "know his happiness."

Learning about happiness is not only an act of the intellect. It is also a spiritual process of restoring the fallen intellect so it is capable of such discernment. Thomas Brooks, taking "Solomon's sermon, 'Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity'" for his text, propounds the benefits of dwelling upon "the impotency of all worldly good"

("Remedies" 64). In his view, if people contemplate the vanities of life, they will be kept from inner the corruption that is "a hindrance many times to heaven and happiness" (66). Robert Harris' sermons on the Beatitudes provide the most excellent example of this processive approach to happiness. The way to happiness is again an act of human judgment, not towards things external such as wealth, but towards the self. In one sermon on "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven," Harris writes: "here's a paradox, the foundation of mans happinesse is laid in misery" (Way 107). Spiritual poverty is self-knowledge of the Calvinist sort--recognizing one's own sinfulness. Or as Harris puts it, the one who is "poor in spirit" is one who "wants in riches, inquires into his spirituall estate, and there finding himself worse then nought, thereupon makes to God for a spirituall supply" (Way 108). This approach to happiness is a means of restoring the basis of the relationship with God. To again choose Harris' words:

> . . .Spirituall poverty is instructive; first, it heals the diseases of the mind, poises the judgement, and sets the scales upright, lets in a new light, and gives one to see that his owne wisedome is folly, his own sufficiency nothing, his own fruit none but death and rottennesse; in short, that within him there's nothing but hell, and the trophees of Satan. (Way 110)

Spiritual poverty does not end in misery, but becomes "the high way to happinesse" (Way 111). In recognizing that the self is nothing and God is all, the soul comes to rest: "Poverty of spirit is the first bud of Grace: Christ begins with it, as the foundation of holinesse and first step to happinesse" (Way 111). Both of these approaches to happiness require the activity of the critical mind. One is directed towards discerning the constituents of "true happiness" in the external world, in recognizing what goods do not bring happiness. The other is directed inwards to the self-knowledge of the recognition that happiness is not in the self but in the self in relation to God. Both of these paths, as much as the end in happiness, are characteristic of Michael's narrative.

Milton's Adam knew perfect happiness in his prelapsarian life. Michael teaches him that he can no longer expect such bliss, but if he chooses it, there is a different and

imperfect kind of happiness available in a world where Paradise has been lost. In Book 11, or the portion of Michael's narrative that is received by Adam as a vision, Adam learns to penetrate through the seeming to see what happiness is not. He also discovers more about his own state of being. Michael tells Adam that he is to "behold/Th'effects which thy original crime hath wrought" (11.423,424). Thus when Adam opens his eyes, he first sees the murder of Abel, who "Groan'd out his Soul with gushing blood effus'd" (11.447). He hears that some "by violent stroke shall die,/By Fire, Flood, Famine, by Intemperance more/In Meats and Drinks" (11.471-473), and he sees a lazar-house, "wherein were laid/Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies/Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture" (11.479-481). To the vision of death he responds verbally: "Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!" (11.465) At the sight of disease and suffering, he can only weep: "compassion quell'd/His best of Man, and gave him up to tears" (11.495,496).

Adam's weeping is a significant indication that he possesses a nature where happiness is a possibility. Satan, on the other hand, does not weep at destruction of good, but continues to seek it as the means to his glory. Instead of delighting in evil, Adam mourns. If we place Adam's reaction beside Harris' sermon on "Blessed are those that mourn, for they shall be comforted," we can see the possibilities for happiness present even in sorrow. Harris writes: "He is a happy man that can mourn well" (119). He makes such a statement, not in the contradictory belief that sadness is really happiness, but because he thinks that the ability to mourn presupposes some good: "it argues a wel-temper'd heart: such an heart as is first, soft, fleshy, yeelding: a stone, you know, will never yeeld, no more will a stony heart relent" (120). The repentance of Adam and Eve at the beginning of Book 11 was expressed in much the same terms--hearts of stone turned to flesh--and here Adam demonstrates the appropriate sadness and turn towards self-awareness in which Harris presents reunion with God and happiness.

When Adam questions how God can allow his image to be so debased in man, he receives a lesson about God's image in himself, the self-knowledge of the fallen world: "Thir Maker's Image, answer'd *Michael*, then/Forsook them, when themselves they vilifi'd/To serve ungovern'd appetite" (11.515-517). That they "God's Image did not reverence in themselves" (11.525) is, of course, a criticism, but it is also a possibility.

Though fallen, God's image is still in them to be reverenced by the choice of temperance. Milton's self is depraved only by daily human choice, not by nature. This makes a difference to the potential for happiness that is available to Adam and Eve. Joseph Alleine's The Way to True Happiness, conversely, offers the observation: "God finds nothing in man to turn his heart, but to turn his stomach: enough to provoke his loathing, nothing to provoke his love" (21). In his view, happiness is only possible in death since living is so much taken up with repenting and crying to God for converting grace--with the ever present possibility that one is not among the elect and all will be for naught anyway. What one sees in the light of that inward gaze is directly related to one's capacity for happiness in the present life.

As I have said, however, Milton's idea of happiness is not only dependent on recognizing one's self, but on discerning the relation of external goods to happiness. Like the interpreters of Ecclesiastes who saw Solomon dismissing as "vanities" all goods but adherence to God, Michael teaches Adam about the importance of correct interpretation of the external world, an interpretation that is increasingly a judgment of inward states. The next vision that Michael presents to Adam is of men who "seem'd" just and bent on the study of the correct worship of God, but are distracted from their purposes by "A Bevy of fair Women, richly gay/In Gems and wanton dress" (11.581,582). The men and women are married, and "with Feast and Music all the Tents resound./Such happy interview and fair event/Of love and youth not lost" (11.591-593). Adam interprets this scene as it appears from the outside: "Here Nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends"--the fulfilment of ends, incidentally, in which Aristotle would place happiness (1.7). Michael corrects Adam's understanding:

> Judge not what is best
> By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,
> Created, as thou are, to nobler end
> Holy and pure, conformity divine. (11.603-606)

Adam is to learn to judge by inward state not outward; neither appearances of studiousness nor beauty are sufficient to be declared truly happy. Nature's ends are surpassed by divine. The men are "(u)nmindful of thir Maker," and the women are

"empty of all good wherein consists/Woman's domestic honor and chief praise" (11.611,616,617). When Adam blames women for turning the men from their path, he is told: "From Man's effeminate slackness it begins,/. . .who should better hold his place/By wisdom, and superior gifts receiv'd" (11.634-636). Milton's assumption that men are capable of higher wisdom and thus superior to women aside, the point is that judgment of good and evil, of true happiness, cannot be made by external appearances. Knowing happiness is only possible when one is able to discern the relation of externals to the God who knows the internal state. Robert Harris' A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace is like Michael's narrative, as it offers: "Instruction how to judge of mens happinesse, namely, by their relation to God, and communion with him" (90).

As this vision dismisses pleasure as a state of happiness, the next ones dismiss both honour and wealth. Adam is again in tears at the sight of Enoch, the one "of wise deport" who speaks of "Right and Wrong,/Of Justice, of Religion, Truth and Peace" (11.666.667), and is seized in violence by an oppressing crowd. Milton does not emphasize the possibilities for a more positive but other-worldly view of history--it could also be said that God intervenes and snatches Enoch up to Heaven. Instead he focuses on the negative. These oppressors are said to possess "Valor and Heroic Virtue" and named as "great Conquerors,/ Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods" (11.695,696), when they are "Destroyers rightlier call'd and Plagues of men" (11.697). Here Adam learns that names in the fallen world are not always appropriate, that words can become disconnected from the inward state, and that those who merit fame are often denied it.

The vision of Noah, among other things, presents the most commonly rejected aspects of happiness and then destroys them in the Flood. The pleasure of "luxury and riot, feast and dance," the power of "thir pomp," and the wealth of "thir Palaces/Where luxury late reign'd" (11.715,747,750) are all washed away. Adam speaks of the significance of this flood to his understanding of happiness:

> I had hope
> When violence was ceas't, and War on Earth,
> All would have then gone well, peace would have crown'd
> With length of happy days the race of man;

> But I was far deceiv'd; for now I see
> Peace to corrupt no less than War to waste. (11.779-784)

All Adam's expectations of happiness are disappointed and he knows not wherein it lies. Michael takes the further step of telling Adam that the flood will turn Eden into "an Island salt and bare," so that even the happy garden is no longer available to him as a place where he can be assured of happiness. In all this, Adam has learned that he cannot judge happiness by appearances and that he must use his God-aided reason to know more than what seems.

Milton is pursuing a two-laned "high way" to the end of happiness in the "paradise within." On one side, he is presenting and dismissing as "false happiness" externals which "seem" happy. On the other, Milton's road presents the importance of the right inward state to happiness. Michael tells Adam of the destruction of the garden: "To teach thee that God attributes to place/No sanctity, if none be thither brought/By Men who there frequent, or therein dwell" (11.836-838). In the spiritual poverty brought on by the removal of all external conditions of happiness, there is, paradoxically I suppose, a return to fullness. For Milton, God does attribute sanctity to the inward place which men bring with them, the travelling soul in which God dwells. Because Adam has journeyed through this "dark night of the soul," when he witnesses Noah's descent from the ark and sees the rainbow above Noah's head, he can again be happy. We are told: "the heart of Adam erst so sad/Greatly rejoic'd, and thus his joy broke forth" (11.868,869). Adam's self-knowledge, though not yet complete, has been increased by hearing of the *locus sanctus* in his heart and of the divine image within him to be reverenced--and by seeing another saint, the "one just Man" who has endured adversity and public scorn.

The most important aspect of self-knowledge in Milton's fallen world is the awareness of the human need for God. That Adam rejoices greatly at the rainbow, the first covenant and the promise "never to destroy/The Earth again by flood" is a sign of his awareness of this need. He was not happy before it appeared, but when Adam is again filled to measure, his joy "broke forth." As emptiness returns to fullness, spiritual poverty becomes spiritual riches: "'Tis emptying; it rids a man of all selfishnesse,

self-conceit, self-love, self-pleasing, self-dependency, self-sufficiency; once for all, it willingly empties it self, and ascribes all fullnesse to God, speaking in St. Pauls words. Get such a frame of spirit, and thou art an happy man, yea, a rich man; (Harris, Way 113). The words to which Harris is referring are in 2 Corinthians 3:5: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." It is interesting to note that he interprets the writing of the word on the heart and the ascribing of all to God (vs.2,3) as the means to happiness, since to my eye, there is no mention of such an idea. Harris' interpretation might be the result of the influence of thinking--by Aristotle, Aquinas, or Augustine--that placed happiness as the *summum bonum*. For Milton the highest good is "the life of the understanding." Thus as Adam's comprehension is improved by the vision offered by Michael, he is restored to a degree of happiness.

Milton has made Book 11 both an exercise in critical thinking and a lesson in self-knowledge, but the process of Adam's education is not yet complete; Milton writes 588 more lines of poetry before he brings Adam (and the reader) to an awareness of the "paradise within." These lines contain the stories of Nimrod, Abraham, Moses and the Israelites in the wilderness, Joshua who leads them into Canaan, David and finally, the Messiah. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski describes the Adam of Book 12:

> He now stands before Michael as any Christian stands before the interpreters of the Word of God in scripture: he hears an account of biblical history, he often responds to it inappropriately, he advances under constant correction "From shadowy types to truth" (12.303), and he learns thereby to understand and praise God's providence. (Rhetoric 258)

Adam's activity as an interpreter is key to understanding Milton's idea of happiness. Milton does not show people finding happiness as God changes history to their benefit, but as God involves himself in the life of the individual. The first would suggest that Milton has God make history itself happy, but Paradise Lost does not present an optimistic view of the progress of history. At best, history is cyclical, with periods in which just men rise from the crowd to speak for justice, but they change little and strife

continues. The second view places happiness in the activity of the person who is interacting with this broader picture.

Happiness in the unfallen world was found in a series of relationships in which the individual participates--with another person in marriage, with nature, and with God--which required self-awareness to maintain them. In the fallen world, all this remains the same but it has become more difficult because the relationship with God has changed. The story of the tyrant Nimrod and the confusion of language that God brings on the presumptuous builders of Babel reveals more about the difference of the two worlds. When Adam hears of Nimrod, "who not content/With fair equality, fraternal state,/Will arrogate Dominion undeserv'd" (12.25-27), he responds "fatherly displeased":

> He gave us only over Beast, Fish, Fowl
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By his donation; but Man oven men
> He made not Lord; such title to himself
> Reserving, human left from human free. (12.67-71)

Michael agrees that such rule is unjust, but turns Adam's attention away from relations between men, to that between God and individual, from external government to inward government. For Milton true liberty begins with self-rule, the discipline of reason. Thus historical change, whether for good or bad, starts with the individual and not external social forces:

> Since thy original lapse, true Liberty
> Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
> Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual being:
> Reason in man obscur'd, or not obey'd,
> Immediately inordinate desires
> And upstart Passions catch the Government
> From Reason, and to servitude reduce
> Man till then free. (12.83-90)

Since the government of reason is the source of liberty, self-rule must precede any social freedom just as lack of it precedes any social tyranny. Adam is told of the importance of his inward state as the place in which true liberty is found or lost, but he is also told of his own inadequacy to the task--his reason is "obscur'd." Liberty is self-rule, but the self is incapable of it. The motions of God in Adam are as necessary to restore reason

and give him freedom as the human choice of self-discipline. When attempting to use the critical mind in which happiness begins, Adam is plagued by the double trouble of his difficulty in self-government and the fragility of trust in a common language in which communication is possible.

The unfallen divine-human communion was based on a dialectic of difference and identity and was maintained by self-awareness. The image of God in man had been the prelapsarian point of identification, but in the fallen world, we have seen that reason is fallen and requires an infusion of divine virtue to "work." Identification unmediated is no longer possible; but for the one who listens and responds to the words of God, faith "the evidence of things unseen," becomes a certainty. The "one faithful man" image is repeated throughout the narrative of Book 12. Faith provides a double vision, of history as it happens and the future promises of God yet to be fulfilled. First there is Abraham, who God "call(s) by Vision from his Father's house" into another land. Abraham "straight obeys,/Not knowing to what Land, yet firm believes" (12.126,127); he listens to the word of God and obeys. Moses, who leads the Israelites out of Egypt, receives the law, words of God recorded in tablets, on Mount Sinai. The Law also is to be read with an eye to the future, as it informs them "by types/And shadows, of that destin'd Seed to bruise/The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve/Mankind's deliverance" (11.232-235). The Law becomes a mediator between God and humanity. Michael explains that the "voice of God/To mortal ear is dreadful" (12.235,236), but if they obey the "Laws and Rites" God is able to dwell among them in his holy tabernacle which contains the "Records of his Cov'nant." God's requirements for holiness are satisfied, not by the words of the covenant but, as with Abraham, by the inward state of obedience to the word. The typological promises of the future are more pronounced when Adam hears of Joshua who leads his people into Canaan. Joshua is one "whom Gentiles Jesus call" and he is the one who will "bring back/Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man/Safe to eternal Paradise of rest" (12.312-314). King David is not a type of Christ but an ancestor, as Milton flies through centuries of Biblical history with a few lines of poetry that explain how the throne was lost so "that the true/Anointed King *Messiah* might be born/Barr'd of his right" (12.358-360). Through listening to the words

of God in history, these figures are brought to God; through listening to and interpreting Michael's words about history in the present, Adam is allowed the same privilege.

In the "text" that Adam figuratively sees before him, Michael tells him of the apocalypse when the Son returns to judge the "quick and the dead":

> To judge th'unfaithful dead, but to reward
> His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
> Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
> Shall be all Paradise, far happier place
> Than this of *Eden*, and far happier days. (12.461-465)

This is Milton's promise of future happiness like Augustine's Eternal Sabbath at the end of history. But as Raphael's revelation of the happiness of heavenly love did not dismiss the happiness of earthly marriage, this revelation does not dismiss life on earth. Adam's response to this revelation from Michael has been the source of much discussion regarding Milton and the *felix culpa*. Adam says: "O goodness infinite, goodness immense!/That all this good of evil shall produce,/And evil turn to good" (12.469-471), and then wonders if he should repent of his sin or rejoice that so much good has come of it. Arthur Lovejoy makes Adam's opinion the crux of his argument that Milton accepted the premises of the *felix culpa*, the theology that: "The Fall could never be sufficiently condemned and lamented; and likewise, when all its consequences were considered, it could never be sufficiently rejoiced over" (278). Lovejoy adds: "the final state of the redeemed, the consummation of human history, would far surpass in felicity and in moral excellence the pristine happiness and innocence of the first pair in Eden--that state in which, but for the Fall, man would presumably have remained" (278). His theory is not based on a careful reading of the poem as a whole and should be dismissed as irrelevant regarding these lines. In Paradise Lost it is always important to evaluate the speaker of the words as much as the words themselves, but Lovejoy extrapolates an absolute perspective, one he assumes is Milton's own, from the postulations of a fallen and thus fallible Adam. The fault in Adam's thinking becomes apparent when we compare his view with that God who said: "Happier, had it suffic'd him to have known/Good by itself, and Evil not at all" (11.88,89) or the words of the Son towards God: "Whom to obey is happiness entire" (6.741). Adam is supposed to rejoice that

God can turn evil to good--this celebrates the power of God--but he rather overestimates his contribution to the good by disobeying.

Furthermore, according to Milton's own theology, God was going to turn Earth into Heaven one day, whether or not Adam sinned. All Adam has done is change the means by which God accomplishes his ends. A gentle ascent into Heaven as body is "turned all to spirit,/Improv'd by tract of time" (5.497,498) is changed to a sudden and violent rapture when the faithful and unfaithful are judged. Dennis Danielson dismisses any connection between Milton and the fortunate fall by questioning Milton's connection with the theological sources that Lovejoy cites, and most importantly, by noting that in Paradise Lost the exaltation of the Son--the result of sin which is the cause for rejoicing--in many ways precedes the fall in Milton's poem. The Son is proclaimed "Messiah king anointed" (5.664) in Raphael's prelapsarian narrative, and in Michael's narrative, he is called "true/Anointed king *Messiah*" (12.358,359) before he is born on earth (222). Since the Son has an equally privileged prelapsarian position, there is little justification for Peter Fiore's position that Milton is like Augustine in thinking that: "The Fall becomes fortunate, post factum, because of the Incarnation, and thus creates something of a paradox" (93).

In the poem, God becomes flesh in a type of incarnation in Book 10 when the Son, rather than God the Father, comes to judge Adam and Eve. He is known as the "voice of God" (96) and the "sovran Presence" (145), but he is also the one who:

> disdain'd not to begin
> Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
> As when he wash'd his servants' feet, so now
> As Father of his Family he clad
> Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts,. . .
> Nor hee thir outward only with the Skins
> Of Beasts, but inward nakedness much more
> Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness,
> Arraying cover'd from his Father's sight. (10.213-217,220-223)

Adam and Eve experience the incarnation of the Word/Voice that becomes Flesh/Servant in their present as much as they hear of it in the future. As they hide among the trees, away from the voice, they feel ashamed and fearful. The Son removes their shame as

it is "covered" from the Father's sight. God's presence is not removed from them, but through the mediation of the Son they are restored to his sight. The happiness of the future Paradise is greater than both their innocence and their present fallen state, but it is not greater than that which they would have had, had they not fallen--that remains the same. The language in which Milton presents the "happier Eden" is that of regeneration, a return, rather than a new and greater happiness.

This pattern of regeneration to the presence of God through the Son who is the Word is important. Milton first suggests the sufficiency of language to the goal of happiness at the beginning of Book 11 which tells of the repentance of Adam and Eve. He uses the metaphors of gardening to describe their state, as "Prevenient Grace descending had remov'd/The stony from thir hearts, and made new flesh/Regenerate grow instead" (11.3-5). Even as God has been the gardener of their souls preparing the ground for repentance, they offer the fruits of the "implanted Grace" to God in prayers. Their words ascend to Heaven, and take on the qualities of the sacred, as the Son says:

> these Sighs
> And Prayers, which in this Golden Censer, mixt
> With Incense, I thy priest before thee bring,
> Fruits of more pleasing savor from thy seed
> Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
> Which his own hand manuring all the Trees
> Of Paradise could have produc't, ere fall'n
> From innocence. (11.23-30)

Put in the censer, mixed with incense, and made holy by fire, their words are brought into the presence of God by the Son. Words spoken from the human heart are eminently pleasing to God--more satisfying than the sinless fruit of the garden.

In the unfallen world, the presence of God was a physical or experiential quality of living in the garden, but with the fall the literal experience is lost, as Adam recognizes: "This most afflicts me, that departing hence,/As from his face I shall be hid, depriv'd/His blessed count'nance" (11.315-317). The Word, the Son who is known by his voice, restores that presence. Some of Milton's contemporaries expressed their views on happiness using the metaphor of the vision of God. Edward Willan wrote of the beatific vision: "When we shall see God in himselfe, and see him in our selves, and our

selves in him, then we shall be filled with blisseful joy, and joyful blisse, fully happy" (56). "There is no true happinesse," wrote Richard Holsword, "but in the favour of God, and light of his countenance" (33). Robert Harris, declares most emphatically: "The point is clear: God seen, is the height of mans happinesse: The Text [Matt. 5:8] shewes it, the Scripture proves it, *Psal. 16. nlt. In thy presence, Lord, is the fulnesse of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore* [italics his]" (Way 212). Though not interested in earthly happiness so much as heavenly, Thomas Brooks also avows the human capacity for happiness because of the possibilities of: "union with Christ, of communion with God, and of enjoying the eternal vision of God" ("Remedies" 69).

In Eden, the vision of God was an experience of literal reality, as Adam says: "On this Mount he appear'd, under this Tree/Stood visible, among these Pines his voice/I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd" (11.320-322). Richard Barckley describes the problem of happiness in an appropriate opposing metaphor: "In seeking for the true light, the true God, and the right way to felicity, or *Summum bonum*, our eyes do not only twinkle as an Owle against the Sunne, but are shut close together" (670). Upon the necessity of the vision of God, they all could agree. What could not be agreed, however, was whether such a vision/experience was possible in the present life--the eyes were, after all fallen. Some agreed with Augustine's conclusion that happiness was only for the afterlife (19.4), but Milton did not. But if regeneration is possible, how is it that a person is brought into the presence of God again? Or to put it another way, if vision must become a metaphor for the divine-human interaction, what did it mean in a world where such an experience is literally no longer possible. What are Adam and Eve to do to turn the metaphor back into experience? The resolution of the problem, I think, is the essence of Milton's "paradise within," as language, the Word, becomes the mediator by which humans are allowed again into the experiential presence of God. As Georgia Christopher writes in her study of Milton and Protestant hermeneutics: "Milton is only dramatizing the Reformation topos that in Christian doctrine we see the face of God" (126).

In what I have mentioned thus far, the Word is implicitly the means of restoring the presence of God. Milton also makes it explicit. Adam hears the message in Book 12 when he is told of the Comforter sent to the faithful:

> The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
> His Spirit within them, and the Law of Faith
> Working through love, upon thir hearts shall write,
> To guide them to all truth, and also arm
> With spiritual Armor, able to resist
> *Satan's* assaults. . .(12.487-491)

Ultimately, words are not even external signifiers to be interpreted by the rational mind aided by God, but the presence of God himself. The word of God, the "Law of Faith" is written on the heart by the inward working Spirit. Scripture is not understood from the outside, by one looking down at the page seeing black marks and white paper, but by looking inward and listening to the voice of God in the conscience. In Christian Doctrine, Milton wrote of this apprehension of God and its relation to happiness:

> THE COMPREHENSION OF SPIRITUAL THINGS is A HABIT OR CONDITION OF MIND PRODUCED BY GOD, WHEREBY THE NATURAL IGNORANCE OF THOSE WHO BELIEVE AND ARE INGRAFTED IN CHRIST IS REMOVED, AND THEIR UNDERSTANDINGS ENLIGHTENED FOR THE PERCEPTION OF HEAVENLY THINGS, SO THAT, BY THE TEACHING OF GOD, THEY KNOW ALL THAT IS NECESSARY FOR ETERNAL SALVATION AND THE TRUE HAPPINESS OF LIFE. [capitals Milton's] (16.7)

Milton's view of God's pedagogical method is indicated by his quotation of Jeremiah 31:33,34 which he quotes at more length: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people" (qtd. in CD 16.7).

Interpretation of the external word, unaided by the Spirit, is fraught with perils and mistakes:

> Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves,
> Who all the sacred mysteries of Heav'n
> To thir own vile advantages shall turn

> Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
> With superstitions and traditions taint,
> Left only in those written Records pure,
> Though not but by the Spirit understood. (12.508-513)

In spite of the possibilities for error, for Milton, there is a unified Truth that is signified by the "written Records pure." Even though truth is unknowable, except with the Spirit's assistance, the words of Scripture make the return to God possible. They are not to be ignored in favour of the internal light alone, as Francis Howgill, a Quaker, suggests in his sermon on happiness: "words are but empty sounds, although there be many languages, and each have interpretation and a signification, they are all short to declare the life, the immeasurable being of eternal life" (203). It is a very fine line of difference, but for Milton "knowing God" is only possible through the "written Records pure" which one reads and interprets:

> Our safest way is to form in our minds such a conception of God, as shall correspond with his own delineation and representation of himself in the sacred writings. For granting that both in the literal and figurative descriptions of God, he is exhibited not as he really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions, yet we ought to entertain such a conception of him, as he, in condescending to accommodate himself to our capacities, has shown that he desires we should conceive. (14.31-33).

He writes of the necessity of spirit to interpretation in Paradise Regained:

> However, many books
> Wise men have said are wearisome: who reads
> Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
> A spirit and judgment equal or superior
> (And what he brings, what needs he elsewhere seek)
> Uncertain and unsettl'd still remains,
> Deep verst in books and shallow in himself,
> Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys,
> And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
> As Children gathering pebbles on the shore. (4.322-330)

As Ecclesiastes ends with "Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man," and Psalm 1:2 says of the *Beatus vir*: "his delight is in the law of the

Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night," Milton returns Adam to communication with God through Scripture. Words are not external but internalized by the spirit that writes them on the human heart, the "spirit and judgment equal or superior" that brings true understanding. The workings of the spirit become allied with the reason or judgment. Thereby, through the act of reading, human can catch a glimpse of the divine, and the presence of the divine is, as we remember, the very essence of happiness.

And so as we come, at last, to discuss the "paradise within," we look back and see that Adam has received a vision of history that stretched from his sons to the end of time. With this knowledge, he declares his satisfaction: "Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,/Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill/Of knowledge, what this Vessel can contain" (12.557-559). What he learns is more than knowledge. It is, according to Michael, "the sum/Of wisdom" (12.575,576), which Adam recognizes when he says:

> Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
> And love with fear the only God, to walk
> As in his presence, ever to observe
> His providence, and on him sole depend,
> Merciful over all his works, with good
> Still overcoming evil, and by small
> Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
> Subverting worldly strong, and worldy wise
> By simply meek; that suffering for Truth's sake
> Is fortitude to highest victory,
> And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life. (12.561-571)

These lines are the treasury of Paradise Lost. They tell of the virtues of obedience and love, and of the value of interpretive skills that can see Providence in history. Adam can "walk/As in his presence" and so the metaphor becomes the experience. When he can see clearly, what seems wise and powerful to the uninitiated, is rejected in favour of what truly is so--the small acts of mercy by which individuals interact with history. It is not happy are the powerful, but "Blessed are the merciful." Suffering for Truth is not purposeless and patience is not passivity. This is not to say that the human perspective is abandoned in favour of a heavenly vision, but that, with God, it is sufficient to face the present.

Adam's words offer a perspective. Michael's words that follow tell of the accompanying activity:

> only add
> Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
> Add Virtue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
> By name to come call'd Charity, the soul
> Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
> To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
> A paradise within thee, happier far. (12.581-587)

The "paradise within" is a metaphor for the experience of the divine presence. All the riches contained within the walls of the external Paradise are contained within the boundaries of Adam's skin by his new found skills of interpretation. The process of learning by which the "paradise within" is "possessed" is inseparable from the experience of happiness or holiness that it brings. This inward state is incomplete, however, without virtue, patience, and temperance, but most of all love, which is "the soul/Of all the rest." With love, "by name to come call'd Charity," the relationships with the world, so important to the prelapsarian state of happiness, are also restored.

It is more difficult to dismiss the feeling that this final psychic state of happiness is superior to the happiness of the Edenic state than it was to escape the perils of the *felix culpa* presented by Arthur Lovejoy. The skills of interpretation that Adam has acquired have returned his intellect to an excellence that is admirable. Georgia Christopher, for example, writes: "Adam's interior paradise is to be 'happier far' because it is to be more knowing than the old one. In Eden, Adam and Eve are 'happier than [they][*bracket's Christopher's*] know' (8.282), but at the end of *Paradise Lost* they know more than their 'happiness' in the wilderness" (194). But that is to underestimate the complexity and rigour of prelapsarian happiness. We must return I think to Milton's view of knowledge. Christopher has taken her quote out of context and changed it to apply to both Adam and Eve. It was only Adam who was happier than he knew and this, was only his first response to his creation. It was the divinely declared purpose of Raphael's mission to make certain that Adam and Eve "know their happiness" and he

departs task complete. Irene Samuel argues that that which "happier far" can be compared to is offered by the immediate context:

> They miss the point who think that Milton sets Adam's degenerate state above the state of innocence. Michael compares not the paradise within, which Adam has already lost, with that which he may yet find, but the external Eden with the inner; for the final consequence of the fall is this disjoining of inner and outer state. Happiness may yet be won in this life, but no longer with the circumstantial ease of a state where knowledge of good was not twin-born with knowledge of evil. (121)

Samuel takes the right approach in comparing external paradise to internal, though perhaps her "circumstantial ease" is a bit too passive. Never in Paradise Lost does Milton present knowledge as a good to be sought for its own sake; even in the unfallen world, knowledge of the world external is a result of self-discipline and of remembering one's relation to God. The critical mind is essential to happiness as it accepts boundaries because of love and recognizes that the most important knowledge is of God--which has unquestionably become more difficult in the fallen world where unmediated presence has turned to presence mediated through words which may be misinterpreted and used for ill.

The importance of inwardness and the divine-human relationship reestablished, Adam and Michael descend from the mount of speculation, go to meet Eve, and move out into the world around. Adam and Eve must leave sad because of the evils that have resulted, but "cheer'd/With meditation on the happy end" (12.604,605). Michael tells Adam to relate to Eve what he has heard, but she already knows of the promise of hope for the future, the seed by which all shall be restored. Their marriage relationship, the place of much prelapsarian happiness, is reestablished with the final words of Eve, the last but for those of the narrator:

> with thee to go,
> Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
> Is to go hence unwillingly; thou to mee
> Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
> Who for my wilful crime art banisht hence. (12.615-619)

Eve's words are very like those of Luther:

> *I would rather be in hell with God present than in heaven with God absent*.. . .If I have Thy Word, I do not care about the fire of hell. On the other hand, I would not like to be even in heaven if Thou wert not with me. For where God is, there the kingdom of God is. Where the Word is, there Paradise and all things are. (Genesis 355)[3]

These words are used in a number of sermons on happiness. Thomas Brooks says: "Luther prized the Word at such a high rate that he saith, He would not live in Paradise if he might without the Word; but with the Word he could live in hell it selfe" (Heaven 108). Jeremiah Burroughs, interestingly, confutes word and presence when he says: "The presence of God in the most miserable place that can be, were a greater happiness then the absence of God in the most glorious place that can be. . . Luther would rather be in Hell with Gods presence, then in Heaven God being absent" (380). Others merely plagiarize. Edward Willan, for one, announces: "Heaven were no Heaven were not his Glorious presence there; and Hell were not Hell were but his glorious presence there. . . Gods glorious presence maketh Heaven. It giveth Happinesse. Happy are all they, yea thrice happy, and for ever happy, that enjoy it" (56). Though he displays a touch for hyperbole, Richard Holsword also argues that a Christian can never be happy without God and never truly unhappy with him: "Were a man in paradise, were he in heaven it self, and had not God, he could not be happy. Were he in Job's dunghill, in Daniels den, in the belly of hell with Jonah, nay in the infernall hell with Dives [sic], and yet had God; he could not be miserable" (34).

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[3]The context in which Luther makes this statement is also significantly analogous to Milton's as it comes at the conclusion of a discussion of history. The commentary is on Genesis chapter 30 which relates the envy between Rachel and Leah and their child-bearing concerns. Luther is dismissing allegorical interpretations but senses a difficulty in asserting the "edification" of a story of two sisters who compete for the bed of their husband. The defense is that because this is history that comes from the Word of God, rather than Virgil or Homer, it has unlimited value: "the most ordinary home life of Christians with wife, with children, and with domestics--which has the appearances of being a mere trifle--presents true and divine histories adorned with the glory of the Word of God" (353).

Eve's attitude to Adam is that which, when directed towards God, makes happiness possible. Adam is like the Word for Eve, the mediator by which the presence of God is regained. Eve's paradise is Adam, as Michael told her in Book 11: "Where he abides, think there thy native soil" (11.292). Here she tells Adam: "All places thou" (12.618). When Adam uses his divinely-assisted critical faculties to interpret the word/Scripture, he can regain the presence of God in the "paradise within." Since the process--the learning and discerning--is so much a part of the regaining of this inner paradise, it is impossible that Eve's inward state is exactly the "paradise within" that is Adam's. But she seems to have something else. Eve has received her promise of present and future regeneration in a dream from God, for "God is also in sleep, and Dreams advise" (12.611). Barbara Kiefer Lewalski suggests: "Adam and Eve embody the two kinds of prophecy specified in Joel 2:28: 'I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions'"(Rhetoric 259). But Milton is silent on what Eve's dream advised her. While I do not wish to ignore the rather menacing spectre of Eve's "lesser reason," if gender were not such an obvious issue, it would only give her the status of a thoughtful non-intellectual--surely no inferiority at all. Eve--like she did in the unfallen world with marriage, wisdom, and obedience--displays towards Adam exactly the attribute necessary to happiness. When Eve turns to Adam as her fit place, she demonstrates Adam's ability to return to God through the mediation of the Word interpreted.

Adam and Eve's relationships are restored--with each other, with their world, with God, and with themselves--if not to their prelapsarian simplicity and grandeur, then to a position in which they can be happy, though sad, in the present. Michael ascends to Heaven and they, as their environment begins to turn to desert, look out across the plain and back to Paradise "so late thir happy seat" (12.642):

> The World was all before them, where to choose
> Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
> They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
> Through *Eden* took thir solitary way. (12.646-649)

Faced with the terrible freedom of a world from which to choose for a new place of rest, no longer in the physical presence of God or angel, they are solitary but together and equipped with skills of interpretation to face the world. They are happy because they possess Milton's version of Christian Liberty. They can live in freedom and happiness in a world of woe because they possess critical minds, improved by grace, with which they can know God and themselves. Happiness is a choice of love for God and allows them to see the true value of mercy through the seeming dominance of power.

Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor presents a perfect contrast to Milton's Adam and Eve. The Inquisitor celebrates his ability to get unthinking human beings to give him their freedom of faith and thought given them by the Christ who promised "I will make you free." The character of Ivan Karamazov relates the story of the Grand Inquisitor:

> You see, he glories in the fact that he and his followers have at last vanquished freedom and have done so in order to make men happy. "For," he tells him, "it is only now (he is, of course, speaking of the Inquisition), that it has become possible for the first time to think of the happiness of men. Man is born a rebel, and can rebels be happy? You were warned," he says to him. "There has been no lack of warnings and signs, but you did not heed the warnings. You rejected the only way by which men might be made happy, but, fortunately, in departing, you handed on the work to us." (294,295)

For Milton, too, the Inquisition which imprisoned Galileo was a symbol for tyranny of thought. In Areopagitica, the "happy nation" was not one which listened unquestioningly to authority but a land of individuals not willing to be "heretics in the truth," not willing to believe things only because an authority, one's pastor, said they were true (739). In Paradise Lost, his Adam and Eve are finally happy in possessing critical minds that know their happiness as they know their God. They gain happiness through the process of discernment and interpretation of the external world, assisted by the inward workings of the spirit reformed reason. This is not the activity of a solipsistic mind, but of the whole person engaged in living socially. Through the free exercise of their wills and their intellects, they cultivate what is best in themselves as individuals. And so we return to the garden with which we began, now present only in the individual as the "paradise

within." The garden within is not a static place, as the garden without was not, but a social place involved through love and charity in the world around. And to again choose the words of Dostoyevsky's Grand Inquisitor who says: "nothing has ever been more unendurable to man and to human society than freedom!" (296), being happy is also more of a challenge to think and to love, than a nice consolation.

Conclusion

Happiness is a slippery idea. It can be social and individual, psychologically important and artistically trivial, the stuff of philosophy and the fluff of television commercials. This thesis has been an attempt to catch hold of the idea in Paradise Lost. If we examine the context in which Milton was writing, it is apparent that many of his contemporaries thought happiness was an important and serious idea. Aristotle's argument that happiness was the *summum bonum* was appropriated to religious concerns. Happiness remained at the pinnacle of goods, but the journey towards it could only be made by way of theology. The influence of Augustine is also clearly evident in the other-worldliness which informs much of their thinking about happiness. For, Milton, however, happiness is neither the highest good nor only in death. For him, the *summum bonum* was the "life of the understanding." Thus happiness is the result of learning--most importantly about God. As he said in Christian Doctrine: "By the teaching of God, they know all that is necessary for eternal salvation and the true happiness of life" (16.7). For Milton, happiness is an intellectual idea, yet learning is more of an art and a relationship of love. This makes happiness a possibility for the present.

To be happy in Milton's Eden is not to live a lethargic and unexamined life in the midst of a cloying world where everything is given. In Chapter One, we saw that the natural world of Eden was good. The plants were abundantly fruitful and generous, as well as artistically beautiful and wild. Among the animals, there were "sociable spirits" who amused each other and attended to Adam and Eve. When Adam and Eve interact with this world, they do not take their dominion over it as a license to do with it as they please. Instead they serve their world as gardeners who make it more fruitful, and as artists in imitation of God who contribute to its beauty. The garden is the text by which they learn of things invisible, and it is valued as such, not disdained or scorned as inferior.

Connectedness between parts of creation also formed an important part of human happiness in the prelapsarian world and was the subject of the second chapter. Love and the activities of the intellect and will, identifying with and differentiating from, are the strands of this connectedness. In Paradise Lost, Milton does not use the word "happy"

indiscriminately. As only Heaven, the stars, and the garden are called happy, so too are the activities of marriage, wisdom, obedience, and self-knowledge. In marriage, the desire for companionship is satisfied by love. Happiness is also associated with wisdom, not the wisdom of vast sums of knowledge, but of desire for knowledge met by knowing and valuing the relationships of everyday life. Most importantly, happiness is dependent on the divine-human relationship of obedience--the appropriate inward state of human approach to God as creator. In all of these, the inward state of the self-knowing individual involved in the activity of being married, studying, and worshipping, is of utmost importance. Love for others and respect for one's self through the temperate will that respects the free will of others are at the heart of happiness. As Raphael says: "without Love, no happiness" (8.621).

With the fall, the supreme connectedness of all creation is broken. And so in the third chapter, we saw Milton narrow his focus with great deliberateness from universal happiness to that of the individual. The human activities of the unfallen world are not abandoned, but become even more important. Where Adam had only to know his own happiness in the prelapsarian world, he now has the responsibility of recognizing true and false happiness in a world that is no longer the happy garden but the desert. Self-knowledge is more difficult in this fallen world because the image of God in which he was created is obscured. Nevertheless, as Adam learns to read history, to become a good interpreter of Scripture, he is restored to happiness. If his happiness is no longer perfect, it is still happiness--not patient endurance of the "vale of misery" till death--but happiness proper and present. For Milton, this is possible because the Word is written on inward parts; the divine presence, lost to Adam in the immediate garden, is restored through the text of Scripture. In this same process, the importance of love, or charity to others, is also reaffirmed as necessary to happiness. Milton ends the poem on the idea of the "paradise within" that is "happier far." This inner paradise is possessed by a process that is both intellectual and relational. The art of gardening is turned to the cultivation of the individual mind through activity made possible through God's grace.

In Milton's Eden, there is happiness because desires for social community, for knowledge of the world, and for metaphysical consolation in knowledge of God are

fulfilled by the interaction of the temperate will and the active human intellect with God who is the giver of all good gifts. To be happy, means to be blessed. What then the meaning of happiness for Milton's twentieth century readers? The language in which Milton writes of happiness is the language of religion, and for most people, this language is not particularly meaningful. Ours is an age where the language of science, in which knowledge receives its status because it is quantifiable, tends to dominate. Such language, however, has little to contribute to understanding happiness. Michael Argyle in The Psychology of Happiness attempts to think about his topic by administering questionnaires to participants in a study and asking them to rate their experiences. He makes the discovery that, for one thing, 41.5 percent of married women describe themselves as "very happy" compared to 35 percent of men, although the happiness of men increases more than women at marriage (16). His study has virtually nothing to say about the quality of happiness, as Argyle admits, and then ignores: "if people say they are happy then they *are* happy" (2). This brings us no closer to being able to express the subjective experience which people experience and describe as happy in the present.

Perhaps Michael Ignatieff's book The Needs of Strangers can take us further towards a method by which to think about happiness in the present. Ignatieff questions the quality of human needs and the way in which the modern welfare state attempts to meet them. He argues that in our politics we act as if human needs are for food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, but we ignore at our peril what people need to flourish: "fraternity, love, belonging, dignity and respect" (14). These things are arts of relating between humans that cannot be conferred by the state. What we need, but do not have, he argues is a "shared language of the good" (15). This is the language in which it was possible to talk of happiness. Ignatieff begins by noting this language in King Lear and in Augustinian theology and then he traces the Enlightenment's abandonment of the language of religious need that was so important to Milton. He asks: "The question of whether this is true, whether the needs we once called religious can perish without consequence, remains central to understanding the quality of modern man's happiness" (21). In the end, I think, he concludes that the needs which we experience are those which we can express in language:

> Needs which lack a language adequate to their expression do not simply pass out of speech: they may cease to be felt. The generations that have grown up without hearing the language of religion may not feel the slightest glimmer of religious need. If our needs are historical, they can have a beginning and an end, and their end arrives when the words for their expression begin to ring hollow in our ears. (138)

Thus the language in which we express happiness, or the fulfilment of our own desires, is useless if it is nostalgic and estranged from the present. If we lack a language in which to express happiness in a qualitative way, might we not cease to be happy? For Ignatieff the best language for expressing the need for belonging and contentment is that of art:

> It is the painters and writers, not the politicians or the social scientists, who have been able to find a language for the joy of modern life, its fleeting and transient solidarity. It is Hopper's images of New York, Joyce's Dublin, Musil's Vienna, Bellow's Chicago, Kundera's Prague, which take us beyond easy laments about the alienation of modern life, which have enabled us to find a language for the new pleasures of living as we do. (141)

The ability to discuss happiness is not the goal of this search for a common language of need, but it is an important result.

I do not think that adopting Milton's meaning for the word "happy" would be useful or possible for most people. To simply adopt his words would be to use a language that is nostalgic and could only bring estrangement from the present. Milton's idea of happiness is utterly and completely informed by a God who is a creator of a world that is made to be both good and happy . To reduce his thinking about happiness to secular values so that we can use it would do the poem immeasurable damage; divinity informs not only the theology but its art. Thus Milton's version of happiness may be quite alien to readers for whom belief is either difficult or undesirable and for whom totalizing systems are dangerous in their inability to recognize difference. The subjective experience that was expressed in the language of happiness in the seventeenth

century has fundamentally changed. This thesis cannot be a prescription for finding happiness.

Perhaps then, what Milton offers to twentieth century readers is not a language in which to express happiness, but a way in which to think about it--to focus on the relationships of individuals within a community of people and their world. Is it possible to regenerate words that have been used trivially or do we need a new word for happiness? To have only "Self-actualization," offered by V.J. McGill as the modern equivalent, is to lose something. Happiness is a word and idea with a rich history and I think that we abandon it to the detriment of our poetry. The historical idea of happiness found in Milton is not without worth. The attention and respect which Adam and Eve give to the natural world in their happiness might serve us well as we approach our own environment. And while Milton's emphasis on marriage in the poem is exclusive--there surely must be equal possibilities for happiness in other primary relationships which people--it is still, I think, the activity of relating in love in which people find happiness, though not without difficulty. Yet, even in Milton's Eden, happiness does not only consider primary relationships but expresses concern for the more distant connections of their future society. I think that too often in North America we tend to make choices for our own happiness without considering the impact on the world around us. We exploit the earth to provide for our "insatiable desire" and return to it only garbage, instead of thinking about what the environment needs to flourish. We make choices for happiness in material goods which arrive in our ports at the expense of people in developing countries who live in poverty--partly as the result of our greed for more than our share of the world's resources and our disregard for life in a "global village." The happiness of our culture is individualistic and little considers the connectedness with which Milton balances his individualism.

So much for my own sermon on happiness. Milton did not give a prescription for happiness, like so many tablets of Prozac, to Adam. Adam possesses the "paradise within" through a process of suffering, thoughtfulness, and intellectual engagement with the world around. No blind believer in authority, Milton expected that people should decide for themselves what to believe and do. It seems to me that it is by reading

Milton, as much as possible, on his own terms that he is the most exciting. Milton demands the engaged the mind, if not always to agree with him, then to disagree. In Areopagitica Milton encouraged such disagreement and acceptance of difference:

> How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. (747)

So, whether or not one agrees with the substance of what Milton is saying about happiness, reading about it is the very activity of happiness--the process of discerning and distinguishing for one's self what to think about it. Happiness is also the result of moving away from the text, as Adam descends from the vision on the mountain, to act in charity and love. It is not so important to agree, as to think about what is being said and then to act on it. A thesis on happiness in Paradise Lost then becomes as much of a challenge as a conclusion. As we think and act, the language which we choose to express happiness is a language of the present. Is it possible or desirable to have communities in which there is a common language in which to speak of happiness? By understanding the process, can happiness be given a new and living experiential referent in the present?

He hath made everything beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, so that no [one] can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.

I know that there is no good in them, but for [people] to rejoice, and to do good in [their] life.

And also that [they] should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all [their] labour, it is the gift of God.

Ecclesiastes 3:11-13

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